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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2163

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PESSIMISM, PAIN, ISOLATION SEEN IN TRANSYLVANIAN POETRY

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 29 Apr 83 p 10

[Article by Bela Pomogats: "Four Transylvanian Poets"]

[Text] Laszlo Kiraly: "When You Were Poppies" (KRITERION p 71); Ferenc Kenez: "XYZ. Three Poems" (KRITERION p 49); Bela Marko: "The Eternal Delay" (KRITERION p 71); and Maria Adonyi Nagy: "Signs of the Zodiac" (KRITERION p 55).

Transylvanian Hungarian poetry is undergoing a change. The poetic oratorios and requiems—the sweeping poems of Sandor Kanyadi and Domonkos Szilagyi—which summarized historical experiences had earlier replaced the traditional genre and landscape pieces and the laments that echoed the drama of Szekely ballads. Now, it seems, this poetry is again taking on a new face and is being enhanced with new features. With quite a bit of nostalgia the young poets are thinking of the times—the turn of the 1970's—when poetry seemed to be an intellectual power and was preparing to appear before the public in representation of a human communality. At present, the young poets turn inside and seek answers for the questions asked by human existence. In their hands, poetry has an "endogamous" character. We are witness to the birth of a particular "meta-poetry": the verse struggles with the possibilities and meaning of creative work itself. It regards its own situation as critical, and is trying to emerge from the crisis through a new poetic language or perhaps by working out a new semiotic system. This is similar to some of the efforts of young poets in Hungary, the vajdasaj (Vovodine) and Slovakia.

Not only communal integrity is shattered which was once so brightly realized in style of saying. Literary life is also under transformation, primarily because of the sad thinning in the ranks of Hungarian poetry. A whole group of writers and poets have passed away after an ephemeral decade, and as in the poetry of Hungary the laments and dirges have increased in Transylvanian Hungarian poetry. The formerly secure order of literary life has become loosened, the poets feel they are isolated, small islands formed of generational and friendship circles, and the poetry now being developed can be truly understood only by the narrow community of islanders.

Laszlo Kiraly's "When You Were Poppies" is his sixth book of verse, and the most bitter of them all. It starts with laments and dirges, bids farewell to Istvan

Horvath, Domonkos Szilagyi and Kalman Nagy, the departed of Transylvanian literature. These poetic requiems are permeated not only by a personal sorrow of mourning but also by the anguishing concept of dispersion: as if every trampled-down poet or every poet fleeing into death were to write a warning with his fate into that imaginary book which we call Transylvanian Hungarian literature. These laments are rounded out by historical elegies and rhapsod. The Kolozsvár poet evokes with dark visions the bloody shades of Transylvania's distant and recent past. In his memory, personal and communal tragedies are accumulating; "terror-time reckoning" he says, pithily expressing a communal feeling in his grievous concepts and in a way reminiscent of Kafka.

It is as if he were breaking away from poetry, or at least, according to his belief, it is no longer possible to write verse as it was a decade ago: the gravity of experiences today crushes language and composition. László Király writes fragments, he collects the slivers of a lyrical diary (such is the series of poems "Sentimental Journey") or he takes on a mask and makes confessions in the name of an imagined poet. Such is the cycle "A Poet Dreamt Up, From the Final Poems of Nezvanov (1900-1938)," which brings together the final experiences of a man who has arrived on the shore of nothing. In this beautiful verse we may read the summation of the mission and final hope of poetry: "By linking letter to letter/the spirit may create a new home/in which the word becomes true/and peace awaits the tormented body."

Ferenc Kenez's book "XYZ. Three Poems" has its sources in Romanian Hungarian avant-garde poetry, and at the same time it starts a new poetic language. A unique "anti-poetry," which seeks to express the communication disturbances of poetry and introduces the lyric of want. That is, it speaks not of beautiful ideas but of losses. "It is no longer a question/what a verse represents/but what it represents in relation to the combined/what has not recurred is not enough/to put only into letters/of what did not happen/we cannot get a valid picture/from language, instead of the accompanying verse/concept we must introduce the opposite, the opposing verse/concept, of what did not happen/a valid picture cannot be given by language." I quote it at length for a purpose: the lines express with considerable exactness the thought process of the young Transylvanian poet, which declares "anti-poetry" by referring to experiences. What will be the building blocks of the "anti-poetry?" Epic fragments, snatches of memory, fragments of vision, unfinished sentences, typographical signs and photograph pieces places in the text. The semiotics of want, the signal system of loss is formed of these.

Béla Markó's book of poems "The Eternal Delay" represents the work of the most recent generation of Transylvanian Hungarian poets from the 1970's. He broke away radically from the previous poetic heritage. The primarily communal and ethical tasks of poetry have been exchanged for the stronger demands of creativity and experimentation. It is the principle of creation that is also realized in Markó's new book: he creates imaginary landscapes and genre pictures, imaginary scenes from memories, shreds of dreams or fantastic motifs. In the wake of his work, imagined cities, buildings and objects are created, sometimes as if he received inspiration from the exotic or science fiction. He creates all this in classical contours, and with the traditional representation method of descriptive poetry: it is in this way that his poems receive their unique "supernaturalist" character.

Maria Adonyi Nagy's book "Signs of the Zodiac" also depicts for us a creatively developed, personal poetic world. This world is filled with evanescent moods, dissolving dreams. Reality receives a role in these poems primarily through a multiple emotional transposition. To characterize, let us quote the poet: "Es-tranged patterns of time/enormous cockleshell desert--/a rustling, flashing, allusions/from a place that does not exist." Everything occurs outside actual time and space, is shut away from actual history, and from where only the eternal stars are visible. "The deeper radiance of the inner country" is what the poems of the Transylvanian poet(ess) seek to express in words.

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PARTY ORGAN CITES PROVINCIAL JOURNAL POLITICALLY DEVIANT

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 4, Apr 83 pp 48-52

/Article by Laszlo Oenosi, Hajdu-Bihar Megye Party secretary: "Artistic Life and Political Direction." For more on this topic, see "Kadar Speech to April Party Plenum," JPRS 83654, 10 June 1983, No 2151 of this series, pp 46-65]

/Text/ Artistic life in Hajdu-Bihar megye is characterized as varied and closely linked to institutions and creative workshops. This is characteristic in every branch of art to be found in the area, naturally in varying degrees.

We have many creative workshops. The Csokonai Theater Society consists of three parts: prose, opera and ballet. The province's only official chorus, the Kodaly Chorus, is located in Debrecen. MAV /Hungarian State Railways/ maintains the Philharmonic Orchestra, which looks back on a 60-year-old past. A considerable number of artists-professors are teaching at the Debrecen teacher-training faculty of the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music, at the Zoltan Kodaly Academy of Music Secondary School and at the lower-level Emil Simonffy Music School. Our literary journal, ALFOLD, has only two career workers in the editorial office, but many writers and poets are working at various institutions (university, library, etc.). Our designing enterprises have a number of architects of high artistic rank. The Debrecen Documentation Studio was probably a unique institution in that it was independent for year but was merged last year with the Debrecen Library. Primarily, it prepared photographs, and one of its leaders is an excellent art photographer. Larger numbers of the independently employed are to be found only among artists and sculptors or industrial designers; they do not have independent creative workshops or an institute base.

The directional activity of the party is helped and encumbered at the same time by the ties of the creative artists to institutions. It is an advantage in that the organized status of the artists is a priori of a higher level, their political orientation, training and participation in public activity can be solved more simply and their ideological orientation can be carried out through the leadership of a given creative workshop or institution. At the same time, the artists in a given art branch—with the exception of theatrical art—work at various places, which makes more difficult the development of a unified outlook, the reconciliation of unavoidable conflicts of interest and the development of organizational life.

Organizational disunity increases the role of area organizations and groups in the art federations. Their operation makes possible the professional unification of writers, musicians, actors, architects, painters sculptors and industrial designers; at the same time they are important forums of cultural public life. The operational area of some of the organizations is broadened by the fact that artists living and working in our neighboring megye are members.

The artistic life of Hajdu-Bihar megye is largely concentrated in Debrecen, the megye seat: most of the artists live here, most of the programs are given here and the creative workshops and artistic institutions operate here. Noteworthy work is also being conducted at several other sites, primarily in the mediation of artistic values. The Hajduboszormeny International Art Settlement has won for itself a national ranking, and here in the summer of every year Hungarian and foreign painters, sculptors and art photographers do creative work for a month at a time.

Forms of Direction

As in every area of social movement, the directing, controlling role of the megye party committee is also realized in artistic life. The ideological-political direction of the work of Communists engaged in the area organizations and groups of the art federations and in the editorial office of ALFOLD belongs to the megye party committee's sphere of authority. A very important role is played by the Debrecen Urban Party Committee, which guides Communists working in the creative workshops of the megye seat in the artistic institutions except the ALFOLD and the Kodaly Chorus; moreover, it orients and controls the activities of those work-place party committees and party basic organizations in whose sphere of authority the artistic institutions or artists also belong. The apparatus party committee of the maintaining megye council is responsible for the political guidance of the Kodaly Chorus.

The differing character of the artistic institution system and the party organizational structure also causes us certain problems. This is particularly noticeable in literary life: the writers and critics (not even counting those on pensions) work in at least six or seven unconnected work places; the five party members of the writers' group are divided among three basic organizations.

Cooperation between party and state leadership is balanced and good at every level and work place and succeeds in directing attention to substantive questions and common goals. In our megye, too, we are trying to realize principles that have been successful in order that party direction should be realized above all through Communists working in the creative workshops, the art institutions and federations and primarily through Communist leaders. Here, too, the workshops and institutions work independently, and this high degree of independence places a great responsibility on them. Therefore, we pay special attention to the selection of leaders and to the deliberate application of party cadre-policy principles. At present, there is a Communist leader at the head of every creative workshop and art institute; among the area organizations and groups in the art federation, four have Communist and one has a non-Communist secretary.

Of great importance is the personal commitment and the example of artists who are party members in nonleadership positions. We may say that in our megye most of the Communist artists by far have also acquired respect in their professional lives as well as, humanly speaking, in different roles in public life--and with this they have also added to the reputation of the party. But as in other areas of party life, it happens here, too, that some are not active enough and refrain from taking an open stance, for one reason or other, in support of the party's policy and art policy.

The situation of party building calls for intensified attention. We cannot at all be satisfied with this as yet. By us, too, we can feel the unfavorable aftereffects of the practice which interpreted mechanically the requirements related to the social composition of the party. This retarded, and in fact is sometimes still retarding the admission of artist intellectuals into the party. For example, it has not been possible for years to bring into the MAV Philharmonic Orchestra a new party member--although there are qualified musicians--because otherwise the party committee of the MAV managing directorship could not have assured the admission ratios expected of it. The situation is substantially better at the Csokonai Theater, in which the basic organizations have for years been conducting deliberate and planned party-building work; as a consequence, the youth situation is kept consistently good, and the average is also good. The Debrecen faculty of the Academy of Music at the party organization level also devotes a great deal of attention to the training of young music teachers and students as party members. It has been the general experience that where the KISZ /Hungarian Communist Youth League/ organization is operating and operating well, the party building is also more successful (at the above-mentioned institutions, at the Kodaly Chorus). The institutional disunity, or the lack of an institutional base, has an unfavorable effect on party building in literature and the fine arts. It is a characteristic statistic that of more than 30 members in the fine arts federation and the art fund, only 3 are members. It is an important task of the future to investigate what we might do to improve the situation and actually carry out what needs to be done.

Taking an Ideological Position

The leading party bodies--the megye and Debrecen urban party committees, the executive committee--put on the agenda relatively infrequently questions of art policy, but the situation and the timely problems of artistic life regularly have a role at the committee sessions, primarily as a part of presentations surveying the situation in ideological-type subjects and among intellectuals. Since the 12th Congress, the megye party executive committee has put one art subject on the agenda: in December 1981 it asked for a report on the work of the Csokonai Theater with particular regard to the building reconstruction which was then in process (and was completed in the autumn of 1982). In April 1981 the Debrecen urban party executive committee debated a report on fine-arts life in the city, and in 1982 it proposed that the leadership of the theater should prepare a medium-term conceptual plan extending both to program policy ideas and to the economic, technical area. It is a new feature that since 1982 the propaganda and cultural committee of the urban party committee evaluates and gives its opinion of the theater's program plan for the coming season. In general, the work-place party committees that are concerned evaluate only

infrequently, while basic party organizations evaluate regularly, the activities of the art institutions and creative workshops that belong under their political direction.

In reviewing work completed since the congress or the megye party conference, the megye party committee has dealt most recently with the main trends of artistic life. It was the evaluation of the body that the area organizations and groups of creative workshops and the institutions are working in a dedicated way and with political responsibility and that they have succeeded in developing good social relations; the vast majority of the artists recognize the leading, directing role of the party. In our workshops and among our artists, a realistic and committed line dominates which is appropriate to traditions that are open to new aesthetic values and keep pace with contemporary art. For example, the orchestra plays a considerable role nationally in the popularization of Hungarian music, while ALFOLD regularly publishes the poems and novels of young, beginning writers and poets. In general, our art institutions and organizations do a great deal in cultivating and employing young talents. The importance and the effect of the works by our artists frequently exceed the boundaries of the megye. The works of writers, painters, sculptors and architects who live here and the production of musicians and actors have been rewarded a number of times in recent years with national awards and decorations, and the extent of international recognition has also increased. We must struggle for results like these continuously and from day to day, and in this respect a serious task falls on the party's guidance activity.

Our party committee has also spoken of negatives, above all, of the fact that our megye is not free of the ideological uncertainties that are evident in artistic life. This appears here primarily in literature, and not so much with the works of local writers but several writers in residence elsewhere who publish in ALFOLD. We also have organizational problems and personal conflicts. All this is interrelated with inconsistencies in directing work, primarily the fact that we do not always devote our attention in time to a given problem, or we do not deal in adequate depth with the causes of a given unfavorable phenomenon and its possible consequences. Thus we do not always conduct worthy exchanges of ideas about ALFOLD's ideologically debatable articles, which fortunately occur only sporadically; we evaluated the contradictions among artists and sculptors and within the writer groups as smaller than they in fact are. Adequate harmony has not always been realized between the central and megye directing organs. For example, we condemn only some articles in ALFOLD while other articles are judged more severely by the central organs; at one time different views developed over the internal problems of the Kodaly chorus. On the basis of these things, the outlines of the task are clear: in the future we must devote greater attention to the political and ideological direction and assistance of the activities by the artistic creative workshops and organizations.

Public Life Activity

Meetings by artists and political (chiefly party and council) leaders can frequently be a very important means of orientation. The artists themselves demand that they be given information more often and more directly about international, national and especially local political and public-life questions.

Naturally, there has been occasion for these up to now, but they need to be made more systematic and extended to every art branch.

The artists must be brought more into decisionmaking regarding local (megye and city) art policy and more broadly into cultural policy and into the development of medium and long-term plans and programs. To be sure, up to this time their participation has been limited almost exclusively to consultations with leaders of the art institutions and federations (their local organization groups). The most purposeful forms still have not been found by the group called the Debrecen Circle, one of whose most important functions should be a more organic linking of creative intellectuals (including artists) to the formation of our urban policy. We should likely make more general those methods—with appropriate modifications—by which we succeeded in achieving the active cooperation of the architects, painters, sculptors and industrial designers in developing the view of the city and the environmental culture and in protecting the environment.

In this respect, it is of outstanding importance that suitable party members or nonparty artists should receive a place on the various political direction organs and bodies. At present, the megye party committee has three artist members (a poet, a writer and an opera director) and the Debrecen urban party committee has one artist member (the theater director). One of our opera singers has been elected for the second time to the National Council of Trade Unions.

One of the indirect forms of ideological-political orientation and one of the characteristic channels of information are political training, which also plays an important role in the education of artists as party members. The training is continuous and successful in those art branches where an institutional basis exists. The basic party organizations of the art institutions themselves also organize courses, and from here they regularly recommend students for special cultural-political, aesthetic and other courses to the training directorate of the MSZMP. In the future, we shall try to develop forms which are better adjusted to the characteristic requirements and interests of the creative artists.

It is part of our daily tasks to explain party and state decisions relating to cultural life and to help in their execution. We now have timely tasks in summarizing and working up the first experiences in converting to a 5-day work week, in introducing the new management order and economic rules for cultural institutions and in promoting their adoption. Party guidance must also reckon with such contradictions as, for example, the existential problems that are already evident among artists, painters and industrial designers. It is not easy to dispel the anxieties of the artists that the economic difficulties and the stagnation in living standards will turn a part of the public away from the arts. The rise in the price of cultural services and the shifting of the increasing costs on the population can thwart public cultural goals.

The Artists and the Public

It may be due to the efforts of the party organs that the artistic creative workshops and institutions operating in the megye take into account in a far-reaching manner public demand in the good sense of the word. Of course, we also support different kinds of experiments—for example the presentations of

the Studio Theater and the experiments related to the mobiles, but we wish to avoid having esoteric phenomena prevail at any given workshop.

In all the art branches, a conscious effort may be observed to widen the circle of those who are receptive and to form public taste. This can be perceived in particular where the relationship between the artists and the public is direct, that is, in the case of actors and musicians. The Csokonai Theater regularly gives performances also at other sites in the megye and in fact is planning several premieres, taking into account the limited possibilities of the provincial theaters. Finally, where there is no adequate stage, they bus the young viewers into Debrecen for performances at the theater under a program organized jointly with the megye cultural center and also financially supported by the National Public Culture Council. Also a successful form has been to invite students at the city's six institutions of higher learning and many middle-school students to the open dress rehearsals of the premieres. The workers' concerts of the MAV Philharmonic Orchestra, at which opera singers collaborate, are popular. For more than 10 years now factory exhibits have been organized annually in the megye at which local artists participate with a work or two. The public relationship of painters, sculptors and photograph artists is less immediate than that of musicians and actors, but the reaction (approval or nonapproval) affects the latter more sensitively. It is the main problem of the ALFOLD editors, writers, poets and critics that they are not sufficiently familiari with the opinions and reactions of the readers; this has not been eased a great deal even by the relatively frequent writer-reader meetings and ALFOLD evenings.

In our megye the artists have understood that neither an aristocratic discountenancing of the public nor an unprincipled serving of mass demands can lead to the goal. They take into account the taste level of the given public and their more and more differentiated demands, but they strive to see that the average level of demand will become higher and higher and that more and more people from the masses can enter gradually into the world of true art values. It is the long-term task of those of us who are party workers at various posts in local political direction and others who are Communists at the artistic creative workshops and the institutions to strengthen this outlook.

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LEADER OF ROMANIAN MINORITY INTERVIEWED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 19 Apr 83 p 7

[Interview with Peter Szilagyi, secretary general of the Hungarian Romanian Democratic Federation, by the MAGYAR NEMZET: "Our Land of Birth and Our Home"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The 6th Congress of the Hungarian Romanian Democratic Federation will be held this autumn. The Federation represents the interests of about 20,000 to 25,000 citizens of Romanian nationality living in Hungary. We spoke with Peter Szilagyi, secretary general, regarding the results and problems of its work.

[Question] What kind of tasks has the Federation addressed itself in the 5 years since the preceding congress?

[Szilagyi] Our work is divided in three areas. Our primary activity is political education and enlightenment work. We devote most of our energy to native language and education policy tasks, but we also conduct significant public education activity. These tasks require a great deal of detailed work, and we can work successfully only if the population participates broadly and helps perform them. At the same time, as a social organization our Federation must protect the interests of the Romanian nationality population.

Committees, Clubs

[Question] So-called nationality political committees have been developed in the magyar concerned. To what extent do these help in your work?

[Szilagyi] It is the task of the committees to advance in their own areas the solution to economic and political tasks. We are in very close touch with them, and their activities also promote the work of the Federation.

[Question] What specifically does the aforementioned political education and enlightenment work mean?

[Szilagyi] We can join in the formation of national policy not only by interpreting current economic and socio-political tasks to the Romanian nationality population in their mother tongue, but also by helping in the understanding of these goals and their implementation. In cooperation with state, party and social organizations, we are striving to make the Federation a link in the chain of work performed for the entire country.

[Question] What forms have you found for this political work?

[Szilagyi] We would like to have our relations with Romania strengthened in spirit of MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] policy. In certain areas we are, of course, expecting help from the mother country and we are in fact receiving it. I am thinking here primarily of promoting the mother tongue.

For a Bridge Role

[Question] What problems confront the Federation in the matter of mother tongue education?

[Szilagyi] The dialect here does not coincide with the literary Romanian language. Our basic goal is to have the Romanian literary language and not this dialect taught to our children. But to do this, we need not only textbooks but also specialists. We have requested such specialists from Romania for our continuation courses. Our request still awaits fulfillment. In the interest of deepening knowledge, it is the practice in the training of college students of other nationalities to have them round out their knowledge at German, Slovak or southern Slavic universities. Unfortunately, we have not succeeded as yet in developing this practical form of education at the Romanian institutions of higher learning. Our cultural exchange relations are primarily valuable for border exchanges, but we are striving for the development of permanent relations. We would like to have this type of cooperation between Hungary and Romania be more lively and animated in order that the Hungarian Romanian nationalities might also in this respect fulfill the role of a bridge between the two countries. Because we are living our ethnic life here. This is our land of birth and our home. But our native language and our traditions bind us to Romania.

[Question] What role does the Federation have in the development of international relations?

[Szilagyi] We must first of all carry out our characteristic tasks. We have complete confidence in the state and party leadership, and we are certain that they represent our interests with honor.

In Two Languages

[Question] In the foregoing you spoke of detailed tasks. What are these? Where and in what areas are these of importance?

[Szilagyi] We are vigorously enlightening the parents to send their children to Romanian-language kindergartens and schools. We have established that additional learning is an "investment" that pays, for that child will eventually profit who speaks two languages at the level of a native language. It is also detailed work to enlighten people on the nationality policy of our party and government, or to explain why they should put up bilingual signs in the ethnic communities.

[Question] In the so-called mixed communities is it possible for a person of Romanian nationality to conduct his affairs in his mother tongue?

[Szilagyi] Of course! There is no obstacle of this. In the so-called mixed communities there is always some council worker who can interpret the problems and complaints of the Romanian ethnic citizen to the appropriate officer in charge.

[Question] What have you done about a solution for the problems of name-giving?

[Szilagyi] Together with the other ethnic federations in Hungary, we published a collection of given names. Thorough research work was necessary in order to do this. Thus there is no longer any obstacle to entering in the birth records the baptismal name of the new born in the correct, original Romanian.

Together With the People

[Question] To what extent is the Romanian Greek Catholic Church supporting the work of the Federation and the execution of the tasks?

[Szilagyi] The church has historically played an important role, and still is today, in maintaining and cultivating the mother language. We have no problems in the relations we have with it, our ties are well ordered. In fact, the church supports the circulation of our Romanian language publications even when they are not expressly for the faithful. The Romanian priests have come from the poorer class of the people, and thus I may say that down to this very day they live together with the people and in this way they also help in our work.

[Question] To what extent does the Federation support the cultural activities of the Romanian nationality?

[Szilagyi] Prior to the liberation there was no Romanian-language literature in Hungary. There were no cultivators of the language and it may be said that no Romanian-speaking intellectual class had developed at all. Today we have talented young intellectuals from whose ranks the artists of the future may come. But this must still come to maturity. For the time being, we must be happy that we have one or two ethnographers, we have a literary talent, and we have young people who are interested in the fine arts. We have now reached the stage where we have people to write for, we only need those who also write.

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Local-Level Union Organizational Development

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 7-8 May 83 p 1

[Article by a-er: "Our Union Is Still at the Organizational Stage, but We Already Deal With the Workforce's Problems"]

[Text] The trade union at Krosnolen flax industrial plant in Krosno, which employs mainly women, has currently 20% members. A total of 70 percent of them are workers. We discuss the plant's trade union's problems with its chairman, Stanislaw Jagiello.

"We are still at the organizational stage. The positive attitude of the workforce helps our task. Gradually people gain confidence in our work and come to the union with their problems. They ask us to help them and to intervene on their behalf. The problems concern personal and professional (i.e. concerning production and wages) matters. We try to help with every problem, and we help nonmembers as well.

"For example, the employee who worked at the plant for many years and was close to retirement asked us for help, because he felt that the wage rate awarded to him was too low. We intervened on his behalf with the plant management and our voice was taken under consideration. Another case concerned two female needle shop employees at the plant's cotton mill who did not take advantage of additional pay to which all cotton mill employees were entitled for working under hazardous conditions. We tried to help in this matter as well. Concerning problems with awarding housing we are helpless, however, because the plant simply does not have apartments available. But we try to help solve other social problems. We have an 11-member commission that looks into those problems. Its activities include helping with awarding workers compensation and benefits. They have increased 1,000 zlotys on the average at the plant.

"Although much has been done, there are still areas in which we are behind. We have not sufficiently participated in implementing the incentive system at the plant and distributing awards and prizes. We would also like to have a say in the distribution of protective clothing and cleansing agents and in organizing training courses in the area of work safety and hygiene. We would also like to participate in analyzing causes of accidents at work."

Radom Trade Union Seminar

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 7-8 May 83 p 2

[Article by anw]

[Text] The second state of trade union activities was introduced in the voivodship. New problems developed as a result of trade union development, and the movement activists have to cope with them. This concerns in particular organizational-legal problems that often stand in the way of the union units' effective functioning in offices and enterprises. This is why the WRN [Voivodship Peoples Council] Trade Union Commission in Radom proposed that a training seminar be conducted for leaders and secretaries of union boards and founding committees in the Radom region. The seminar lasted 2 days. Its participants attended lectures pertaining to the movement's most pressing problems. The role and place of trade unions in the socialist sociopolitical system was discussed. Other subjects of discussions included the union's autonomy and self-government in the context of its relationship with the enterprise management, the party organization, and the employee self-government. Much emphasis was put on the union's functioning methods and their effectiveness. The organizational aspect of the union activities and record-keeping were other important subjects. Much attention was also given to the self-government rights concerning changes in the content of the work contract and the right to break it, the need for help in dealing with grievances resulting from work relations, and employee rights to social benefits, recreation and vacation, and cultural-educational activities.

Pawel Chochlak, director, Trade Union Office at the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, came at the second day of the seminar. He listened to comments of trade union activists and answered their questions. The issues discussed by union activists included the effectiveness of some regulations concerning the union functioning. Many questions concerned the impact of the reform and its contribution to forming wage relations and the need for introducing compensation for low-income families in case of price increases. Proper relations between the trade union and the cooperative self-government and the OKON [District Committee of National Rebirth] were also discussed. Mr Chochlak promised to answer some questions in a letter.

Trade Union Problems

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY 11 May 83 p 2

[Article by PW: "Trade Union Activists Talk about Their Problems"]

[Text] Jozef Niewiadomski, mayor, city of Lodz, had an opportunity to become acquainted again with problems of trade union activists from the voivodship plants, enterprises, and offices. Vice President Jerzy Lapinski also participated in the meeting, which had a definite businesslike character. Chiefs of Lodz districts were also present.

Questions directed at the administration officials were preceded by the information on the state of the trade-union movement. A total of 500 initial groups are currently active in Lodz, and 300 organizations are already registered. A total of 312 additional applications were sent to the Voivodship Court. Elections were conducted at 100 organizations. Altogether, 60,000 Lodz inhabitants belong to trade unions, not counting pensioners. A steady increase of the interest in trade unions is observed among employees of various institutions, as evidenced by the 15,000-person increase in union membership that took place in April alone. Information concerning the proposed founding of the textile workers' union federation was also given at the meeting. The countrywide conference of textile workers will take place 10 May at the 1 Maja Cotton Industry Plant.

Problems of housing policy and the functioning of trade and transportation were the main subjects of questions asked the president. Several suggestions were made concerning these issues. Many statements had the character of an intervention. In these cases the main thrust of the statements also concerned the burning housing policy problems. The union representatives pointed out that the organization's prestige often depends on solving these problems.

This is why President Niewiadomski devoted most of his attention to the housing problems. The union activists were advised that the city administration is currently negotiating with housing cooperatives in order to ensure 40 percent of housing for low-income families. The president also informed activists about new rules for assigning so called "replacement apartments".

This was one of the many meetings between city administration representatives and union activists. It was noted that the same individuals speak at very meeting and the statements always concern the same issues. Since questions were asked and suggestions were made and then accepted, it may be a good idea to make future discussions more systematic. They can be arranged according to the subject and individuals responsible for implementing specific matters can be invited. Then we discuss what has been done and what else needs to be done.

Creation of Trade Union Federation

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA 17 May 83 p 5

[Article by t: "Chemists Found the Trade Union Federation"]

[Text] Following the example of metallurgical workers who already founded the trade union federation, trade union organizations of other branches acknowledged a need for their own federations. Last April a commission created by plant trade union organizations of Oswiecim Chemical Plant and the Nitrogen Plant in Chorzow. A total of 34 representatives of chemical and ceramics plants and glass works are commission members.

Trade union organizations of all branches of industry are represented among 50 plants, which, as it was stated at the consultation meeting, "acknowledge an urgent need for continued development of workforce activities and representation of their interests before central state and economic authorities, as well as cooperation among trade unions." The plants that applied for membership in the federation include Nitrogen Plants in Kedzierzyn and Pulawy, Elana Synthetic Fibers Mill in Torun, Chemical Plants in Bydgoszcz, Anilana in Lodz, Olsztyn Tire Works [OZOS], Glass Works in Krosno, and Synthetic Fibers Plants in Jaslo and Pionki.

The number of plants ready to join the federation is steadily increasing, according to resolutions of plant trade union boards. Information concerning this is available at the consultation center in Oswiecim Chemical Plants (Chemikow Street 11, phone 238-21, ext. 2162, telex No 035481).

The founding committee will be chosen as the next stage in the process of creating the federation. The committee will be elected only after the basic requirement is fulfilled, i.e. at least one half of all organizational units in the chemical industry apply for membership.

Trade Union Pluralism

Katowice TRUBINA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 17 May 83 p 2

[Article by Grazyna Tarkowska: "Old Slogan--New Tactics"]

[Text] "Trade union pluralism" is the slogan of the political opposition that is becoming popular again. It seems strange coming from the people who only a short time ago believed that they had a monopoly concerning the trade union movement. They usurped the right to play the role of the only "true" representative of trade union issues in the country. However, Solidarity did not operate in a void. Branch and autonomous unions, as well as central committees not affiliated with unions, were active as well. Solidarity leaders did not want to acknowledge their existence, let alone the idea of constructive cooperation. This attitude was not only a result of the leaders' megalomania, but even more so a manifestation of the program of demands dictated by the interests contrary to those of the socialist state.

Today those who identify with Solidarity are trying to attract new followers from previously operating trade union structures. They talk about common goals, trade union unity, and ties of friendship. Such statements were not heard 2 years ago. Solidarity leaders spoke with contempt about "some weak government-run unions" and about the "CRZZ [Central Trade-Union Council] posthumous children." They had only one answer—"no," to all attempts of making contact and offers of cooperation. They adopted the attitude of making contact and offers of cooperation. They adopted the attitude of disregard and reticence. They created fictitious stories to the effect that the authorities had only one partner; Solidarity. Thus, trade unions were not fully represented around the conference table during

negotiations with the government representatives. Solidarity insisted on having an exclusive right of representation, and it sent away delegations of other trade union organizations. Even during tense moments, such as the March talks at the URM [Office of the Council of Ministers] right before the general strike was announced, Solidarity refused to negotiate together.

Its leaders purposely built a barrier of enmity between union members at the same plant, enterprise, and branch. They carried "progovernment unions" activists away in wheelbarrows. They did not deal with important social and union issues and employee problems, but to the contrary, blocked their resolution, and gave priority to political goals. The number of union delegates presenting postulates that were often contradictory grew in ministries and other institutions. Consultations were held up, decisions were postponed, and briefcases swelled with unattended matters. But they did not care.

Solidarity leaders had always one explanation for their destructive actions: "Union pluralism and competition will help workers," they claimed. However, those were only empty words. At that time such ideas as autonomy, self-financing, and self-government applied only when it was convenient for those leaders. Many times Solidarity activists made the work of branch unions impossible when those unions did not endorse strikes they proposed. After a while the unwanted partnership turned into brutal assaults and attacks directed at the "competition".

The leadership of the countrywide commission ruled by the opposition consistently prevented cooperation with other trade union agencies of the "self-governing People's Poland". After all, their organization, consisting of a million of members, did not create an efficient apparatus for opposing the authorities in order to solve laborers' problems.

Forced concessions achieved by threats of strikes and constant increases in demands in the area of politics and economy resulted in more and more negative opinions voiced in trade union organizations. As a Radom leader stated: "There is no understanding because there is nobody to reach an understanding with."

Just as decisively the KKP rejected the government offer of creating a mixed commission in which other unions would participate. Its forum would make it possible to work out a common stand, define solutions and actions serving the society, and reach understanding concerning controversial matters. This approach was rejected. Instead, Solidarity demanded, as we all remember, that a social council for national economy be created—a "supergovernment" independent even of the Sejm.

General Wojciech Jaruzelski's proposal of creating the front for national understanding endorsed by branch and autonomous unions, was also rejected by Solidarity. They presented their own conditions, which were based on an ultimatum. Those conditions were defined in Radom and Gdansk, and the plan for taking over the authority in Poland was constructed.

Even today the underground does not lack impudence when it tries to recruit new followers for the opposition among those rejected during the "good old days." Attempts at putting together "the underground society" have not been successful. Maybe that is why attempts are made to create at least the "trade union underground". Former Solidarity leaders are still suffering from megalomania. And this, like all manias, is simply funny.

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PROVINCIAL WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Information-Advisory Group Position

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 2 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by PW: "Trade Unions, Workers' Self-Government, Questions and Answers"]

[Text] At the last meeting of the members of the Information-Advisory Group on Matters of Trade Unions and of the National Council's Commission on Matters of Self-Government with representatives of trade and self-government organizations from eight Lodz factories, several substantial questions were raised and an attempt was made to find answers for them. We believe that these matters are of interest to groups of workers larger than the Lodz enterprises alone.

[Question] Workers' self-government has accepted the single-payment form of bonus. Allegedly they did not want to get a few cents each time, but preferred to receive more at one time, so that they could feel it in their pockets. The director accepted this. After the payment the director was suspended from his duties while improper management of enterprise funds was investigated. They are asking what gave anyone the right to decide on self-government. Actually there were questions about the opinion which was expressed, but nothing helped. The director was still suspended. Is this the case?

[Answer] Without going into the correctness of the decision of the sponsoring organ, let us recall that during the period of suspension of the martial law, the part of the law on self-government dealing with the appointment and dismissal of directors was not in force. The fact that the department had recourse to the self-government unit for the purpose of quenching its opinion has no significance today from the legal viewpoint. However, in a normal situation, when self-government functions with the power of all of its rights, the matter would look like this. The sponsoring organ recognizes the action of the director as economically harmful. It suspends him from his functions. The self-government unit protests. It remains for the department to go to the administrative court which can make a decision on the matter. However, up to this time the director is fulfilling his duties as usual.

[Question] Is self-government infallible? It can make mistakes for which the director is later responsible. In what way is self-government responsible for its decisions?

[Answer] This question is most often put by opponents of self-government. Actually, since self-government is an elective, representative organ, just like the National Council, the Sejm cannot be drawn into responsibility in the common meaning of this word. Has anyone taken the Sejm to court for approving a poor law? No. Similarly self-government cannot be prosecuted. Being an expression of democracy, self-government is responsible only to its electors or to the enterprise workforces. The workforces also bear the results of decisions of the organ which they have elected. However, this does not mean that self-government or, more properly, the workers' council, is free of every kind of control in the course of its activity. If it does not properly represent the interests of the workforces, a general meeting of the delegates can always be summoned with the recall of this council.

[Question] A worker does not belong to the trade union. He is dismissed. In this case does the trade union have the right to express an opinion about such a decision?

[Answer] The trade union represents the interests of the enterprise workforces. In collective matters anything which concerns all workers is best realized in collective systems, and formerly these were negotiated through specific trade unions. However, in individual matters the trade union can represent an unorganized worker on the condition that the worker wants them to and, obviously, if the union itself agrees to this.

[Question] It is said that trade unions are able to affect the government policy in all matters which refer to labor law and working class situations in general. How can the policy be affected by a union which does not have a central office and whose activities are limited to a factory?

[Answer] The trade unions are entitled to the right of public expression of opinions, for example, on the subject of prices. Thus they can address a national council, a Sejm commission, or have direct recourse to the Sejm. This can be in a written form, or there can simply be a direct approach to a council deputy, a member of one or another commission of a national council or of the Sejm. This possibility has not been universally appreciated, because we still do not know of any such cases. This is too bad. Direct contact between a factory union organization and organizations of the state government could prove to be very helpful in many cases (for example, social consultations).

[Question] What are the mutual relations between a trade union and self-government? There is talk of cooperation, but still both their range of competence and the tasks facing each of them are different.

[Answer] Once a plan for a joint law on self-government and trade unions was taken under advisement. It turned out otherwise. Actually, their range of competence is different, but there also are matters in common. But to go on. There are fields where they are out of touch. In the case of self-government there will be such problems as: work regulation, appointment of a director and resolutions on production plans. In the case of unions there will be individual affairs of workers, concern for compliance with labor law and so on. There are levels where self-government is obliged to direct cooperation by the law on workers' self-government. In this case it can be said that self-government must subordinate its decision to the opinion of the unions. The law mentions a particular scope of such matters.

Self-Government-Management-Wages

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 4 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Teresa Kwaniewska: "Wages in Self-Dependent Management (Commentary by Prof Dr Mieczyslaw Kabaj of the Institute of Labor and Social Affairs in Warsaw)"]

[Text] We addressed Prof Dr M. Kabaj with a request to comment on one of the problems of management essential for our reform and on the incentive function of wages. Below we present the opinion of the professor.

In a situation of a deep production deficit the most important thing is to implement an incentive situation which will induce enterprises to increase production and reduce prime costs. This second aspect is particularly important. Savings have become a necessity today in view of the meager raw material base and difficulties in purchasing in the foreign-exchange sphere.

In speaking of savings I am not only thinking of overcoming all signs of waste, but also of changing technology, of modernizing production, of raising quality and so on. Almost 90 percent of production costs continue to be material costs. Resources saved, increased labor efficiency and management can multiply assets for the wage fund as well. The enterprises particularly should be clearly aware of this, especially because of the narrow ratios existing today between an increase in assets for emoluments and an increase in production, which has a net measurement according to constant prices. All of this tends toward paying for the concrete results of work and achievement. In the opposite case higher wages would mean inflationary processes.

From the point of view of incentive the new principles of allowances for the FAZ [Vocational Activation Fund] are of substantial importance because they are not calculated on the mean increase in wages, but rather on the wage fund which should compel enterprises to consider the real production and raw material possibilities.

However, where the enterprises get the money from is as important as how they distribute it. New methods of rational exploitation of labor resources give the workers great opportunities for wage increases. The incentive system should drive the enterprises to obtain higher output with reduced employment. Every slot saved is a few more cents in the pockets of the workers. The elimination of superfluous work stations obviously means greater possibilities for raising wages. Still, two factors are decisive in the effectiveness of all actions: prices and a consistent government policy in this sphere.

When I speak of prices I am thinking of the processes which have recently appeared in our economy. This is not the fact that prices are rising, because we were aware of this happening as early as the beginning of 1982. The problem is found in the fact that many enterprises have taken advantage of the new price policy to maximize results and increase profits. This is also one of the reasons why an increase in production and a reduction in costs has not yet become an economic necessity today. An enterprise has two possibilities to choose from in order to increase income, either to elevate prices (the often excessively in relation to the material and raw material costs and so on), or to increase production. Obviously the majority adopt the first and easier route. In addition this decision is favored by the possibility of free price formation and the deficit market, which does not demand price reductions or savings in costs, and which literally swallows up all goods. A second reason is the very high progression in the income tax. It simply does not pay many manufacturers to produce more to exceed a definite profit ceiling.

Thus a great deal depends on how consistent the government will be in achieving the price policy and in controlling the methods of price formation used by enterprises, especially those in monopolistic positions. If an enterprise is found this year in a great deficit situation and has been poorly managed, should it be permitted to go bankrupt or not? This is essential. I do not really think that such cases have been multiplied on a mass scale, but even if only a few enterprises are found at the threshold of bankruptcy, strict consistency toward them is mandatory.

The wage system constitutes an instrument which can be used in a skillful and intelligent way or in an unintelligent way. Therefore effective social control and workers' self-government can do a great deal by not allowing the adopted principles of emolument to be shattered. Furthermore, I do not imagine that in a self-dependent and self-governing factory where there is currently a choice and determination of the principles and criteria of emoluments, bonuses and types of wages (piece-work, the time system, and assigned day's work and so on), many changes or modifications would be made in this area without consultations with workforces representatives, and without their complete participation and acceptance. Otherwise the incentive system will simply never work effectively.

In the final analysis the effectiveness and efficiency of the wage system will determine the criterion of fairness (compensation for factual or apparent achievements) adopted by the workforces. Therefore I think that the activity of workers' self-government and trade unions is indispensable. Nor do I imagine that people are inclined to work better and more productively when the stores are half empty. We know the saying: "Don't pay me to work better because I can't buy anything with the money." Unfortunately this is true. As long as the market is the major determinant, we cannot restore its relative balance and, as long as incentives do not produce an increase in effort, we shall not restore productivity. This is why I continually stress on every occasion that the reform must restore the junction between the flow of money and the flow of goods and services. And this cannot be done solely by means of even better thought out modifications in the individual wage system.

One question often arises: When will the great wage reform finally come? Even the very best system will not achieve the anticipated results if it is not properly realized. There is no need to wait for major solutions but to effectively follow our own wage policy, and this possibility will soon be provided. There is only one basic condition: the enterprises must have clear goals and programs in front of them, achievements they want after a year or two, and a specified vision of the wage system which they would like to implement within the framework of their authority. There is no room here for emotion, improvisation, a "temporary measure," blind activity nor a lack of a clearly defined plan.

I often meet directors who say that the bonus system in their enterprise is absurd. Then I answer them: "Director, speak to yourself. You are the one who makes decisions now." However, these attitudes are understandable since directors were accustomed for many years to decisions being made by the center. Therefore a lot of people are still waiting for the ideal wage system to be developed which will function everywhere. Nonsense. Far-reaching decentralization in the wage policy occurred as early as 1982. Resolution 135 of the Council of Ministers determined only the extreme span of emoluments, the minimal and the maximal.

But there are also more optimistic examples. Practice in even the last few months confirms that many enterprises have successfully developed and introduced their own plant principles for emoluments and bonuses. Of particular interest is an experimental system of incentives in the Lodz cotton industry. It accepts a simple principle, workers' emoluments are differentiated according to work results. Pay is a function of productivity and effectiveness. This is being applied consistently and is achieving results.

Many enterprises have also changed the principles and criteria for bonuses, basing them on work productivity, reductions in material costs, quality improvement and so forth. Automatic bonuses are being eliminated more and more often and assigned an incentive role. These instances verify that a great deal can be changed within the framework of enterprise self-dependence. It is only necessary to have the will and the courage to introduce new

measures. I would like to be able to say that all enterprises have adopted this procedure. The truth is that many of them, waiting for a general reform, are using the old method of mechanical across-the-board methods (raising everyone's wages in a uniform amount regardless of results), while they treat the new wage tables and flexible rates as authority and even encouragement to raise wages despite a lack of suitable resources for this purpose.

Still, we should also remember that the wage system reform does not constitute a one-time action, but a long-term process and that it does not only mean a transfer of authority to enterprises, but their general skillful use, the formation of new principles of emoluments as a function of the social conditions of the enterprises (workforces structure, age), and technical and organizational conditions as a whole, and once more I should like to emphasize consultation with representatives of the workforce.

Sejm Workers' Self-Government Commission

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 10 Mar 83 p 4

[Interview with Deputy Jozef Barecki by Maciej Lastowiecki: "Interview with the Chairman of the Sejm Commission on Matters Pertaining to Workers' Self-Government, Deputy Jozef Barecki"]

[Text] One of the bases on which the economic reform rests is workers' self-government. The process of its revival has recently been accelerated. Proof of this is the fact that it is currently operating in more than 4,000 enterprises and continues to make progress, while in September last year there were only 240. This has been aided by suspension of martial law which has created new possibilities for self-government development. We are speaking with the chairman of the Sejm Commission on matters pertaining to workers' self-government, Deputy Jozef Barecki, on the subject of its work under present conditions.

[Question] The law on special legal regulations in the period of suspension of the state of martial law is different from the law on the state of martial law regulating the activity of workforces' self-government. May I ask for a clarification of what this is based on?

[Answer] In the period of martial law suspension the self-government activity can be restored in all enterprises included under the law on state enterprises. The sponsoring organ makes decisions in this matter, and no proposal, request or opinion is necessary for it. The law on the special legal regulations in time of martial law suspension states that the sponsoring organs must agree on self-government activity by the end of March this year. Nevertheless, this law formulates several temporary restrictions.

In previously militarized enterprises the sponsoring organ will appoint the director, and the workers' council cannot use the right of opposition with respect to these decisions.

In addition, in these enterprises opposition registered by the workers' council or the director to the decisions adopted by the sponsoring organ does not suspend their execution. Still, regardless of this the workers' council is empowered to register its objection in court within 7 days of the affair. Furthermore, if the activity of the self-government organ disrupts the legal order or basic social interests, the sponsoring organ can suspend the self-government activity for a period of no longer than 6 months. These regulations are in effect only during the period of martial law suspension.

[Question] What caused these self-government restrictions?

[Answer] In evaluating the development of self-government we must recall that it was and still is the object of political struggle. There were and still are forces which want to use the public acceptance of the idea of self-government for purposes which have nothing in common with it: weakening the state and disrupting the economy.

This battle has left in the minds of the workforces a great deal of residue, many false myths and biases. The development of self-government was not promoted by the declaration of martial law. Despite the fact that its purpose was to protect the process of change and reform from antisocialist deformation, for a certain time this suspension of self-government activity made it possible to confront the opinion of the opposition forces that the government had done away with self-government and that during the initial restoration of self-government activity, universality of the lie that it concerned other kinds of self-government under the regime and not workers' self-government.

Renewal of the self-government activity took place under very difficult conditions. Many of them did not adjust their structure to the requirements of the law before the suspension of martial law. To a very great degree this problem makes the development of self-government difficult to this very day, and provides arguments for people of bad will who use the necessity of agreement with the law to assert that the government does not respect the will of the workforces. They are using the current nonconformity in self-government structure to hamper its development. There is another problem. Self-government was really set up for activity under difficult circumstances and was to be a specific remedy for socioeconomic troubles, but the magnitude of the crisis and the everyday, not imagined, reality of the reform surprised and even frightened some self-government activists.

[Question] Just a few months ago were there not predictions of a breakdown of efforts aimed at renewal of self-government activity?

[Answer] Actually the first months were no optimistic. But gradually the process of renewing self-government activity has acquired speed. By the end of last year 3,670 self-government organizations had restored activity. Today self-government is operative in about 4,000 enterprises of the total

number of 6,500 enterprises in which self-government can function with the power of law. Obviously the range of activity of self-government is different in individual enterprises. Some self-government organs are just beginning their activity, while some are setting up their structures and adjusting them to the requirements of the law, but the majority have this first period behind them and have been enterprise organs with full legal power for many months.

[Question] Self-government is gradually shifting from quantity to quality, but it continues to struggle with many problems.

[Answer] Numerous meetings with self-government activists, as has also been confirmed by a meeting in Poznan through letters and conversations, show the need to grant self-government very concrete daily aid in solving various kinds of problems met in the course of its activity. This refers to two planes, the legal plane and the economic plane. With this in mind our commission took the initiative in organizing consultation points in every voivodship with the task of imparting advice in the area of the legal and economic aspects of self-government activity. With this initiative we turned to the voivodship representative teams and to the commission on matters of self-government at WRN [Voivodship Peoples' Councils], and we asked for aid from departments of the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration, the Polish Economic Society and the Chief Technical Organization, which have professional staffs intended for such activity.

We received an affirmative response. In many voivodships consultation points have already been set up, and they are in the organization stage in others. Their activity will certainly be very useful for self-government.

[Question] There are some people who are afraid of self-government, who state that the reforms can be achieved without the participation of workforces in enterprise management.

[Answer] Such attitudes are met, although they appear sporadically. There are cases of prejudice on the part of the administration against workers' self-government. They are the result of old habits, of antipathy toward democracy and toward control of the administration by the public sector. Still, the September crisis once again demonstrated that removal of the working class from influence on state matters leads to catastrophe. The development of self-government is an important current in socialist renewal. Therefore there can be no return from self-government.

Workers' Self-Government at Metallurgical Plant

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 14 Mar 83 p 3

[Interview with Workers' Council Chairman Alojzi Sobol by Krystyna Domagala:
"A Dazzling Start, Self-Government in the Metallurgical Plant"]

[Text] Workers' self-government is already a fait accompli in the Ostrowiec Metallurgical Plant named for N. Nowotki, one of the largest Kielce plants. The Workers' Council has begun its statutory activity. What has the Metallurgical Plant Self-Government recognized as the most important task to be solved? Will it cooperate with the administration? I asked the Workers' Self-Government chairman, Alojzi Sobol, a traffic maintenance worker in the continuous steel casting department of the electric steel mill, for a statement.

[Question] Did you report for work immediately after the Council Presidium was set up?

[Answer] Yes, We began with a meeting between the members of the presidium and the entire metallurgical plant administration. The conversation was direct. We discussed the main principles of cooperation. I emphasized that the director had assured us that all problems relating to enterprise activity would be presented to self-government in an honest way. We must know all the truth and all the secrets of managing the factory. This is in the interests of the workforces. I am full of optimism that this cooperation will develop well on the principles of partnership. We have good management. The directors were not brought to us in portfolios. They are foundry blood and bones, raised in Ostrowiec and worked in different positions in the metallurgical plant for years, beginning as foremen. I believe the administration has the same goal as self-government, the very best operation of the metallurgical plant. This major goal unites us. We shall certainly find a common language and our activity will be joint.

However, we do not intend to replace the management and administration. Before we approve them, the programs developed by them must consider our proposals and motions. This is a basic condition for self-government to be able to perform its functions. We shall also watch to see that the programs are honest and realistic, and will watch their realization in action. They cannot be fictional programs, remaining stacks of paper, as has happened in the past.

[Question] Which tasks do you consider the most important and the most urgent for self-government to achieve?

[Answer] There are very many problems in the metallurgical plant. There is no way to solve all of them in the course of a few months or years. We cannot have too many irons in the fire at once. In the first year of

operations we intend to be concerned with improving management effectiveness in our plant. In April all delegates to a plant meeting, and there are 426 of them, will receive an inquiry to fill out anonymously. It contains questions concerning the method of managing raw materials and other materials, fuels, packaging, and so on in each department and section. There is a place on it for proposals and suggestions to be done in order to eliminate waste, destruction and theft in concrete working stations and in the organizational cells. This involves enormous sums, calculated in the millions of zlotys. Then we shall present to management the concrete proposals which should be considered in setting up the plan to improve management efficiency. Let me add that as a result of the ZOKON activity last year, a start was made in developing new norms for the consumption of spare parts and foundry equipment, and that this is being done in the main mechanical, power and technology sections. The workers' council of self-government has control over this. A basic task is the elimination of ordering spare parts in an incidental way (with reference to quantity). Often purchases are made without a thorough analysis of needs and of growth. It is indispensable to determine the number of spare parts imported for foreign-exchange in view of the possibilities of replacing some with domestic production. We do have design and technology personnel. We ourselves can successfully make some elements instead of buying them abroad. A second very important task which we must execute as rapidly as possible is improvement in work and social discipline. We shall soon go to the management to ask for the pertinent services to develop a new work code to meet the demands of the economic reform. Battle will be declared against all signs of unjustified absence, and also against all who come to work and pretend to work. We can no longer tolerate workers with farms coming to the foundry to rest. It often happens that on the second or night shift the boss has to look more than once for workers who are tired from working in the fields and are hiding someplace in the recesses of the department. In concert with all of the union, political and social organizations active in the plant, we want to reach the minds of the workforces and convince them that a basic criterion for worker evaluation is work. Good wages should only be given for good work. We shall comply with the principles of one-person management and shall respect the authority of the managers who, like farmers, are able to run sections and departments, while identifying bad managers.

Our task is to construct interpersonal relations based on being subordinate to all requirements and, at the same time, relations based on sincere cooperation and good understanding of colleagues, and overcoming all quarrels and arguments. It is a matter of each of our workers, despite the difficulties we meet in our daily work and despite the economic crisis, to feel at home in the metallurgical plant. We shall establish cooperation with PRON council and at the same time oppose the breaking of regulations, especially the labor code and the orders of management. We shall see that none of our foundry colleagues is wronged. To the extent that factory finances make it possible, we want to assure equitable social and living conditions for social and union adjustment. We shall give special care to the forge of personnel for the foundry, the only source of supply of the work force, the Group of Metallurgical Plant Schools.

Realization of these intentions requires time, and above all consistency and pertinacity in the activities of all members of the Workers' Council.

[Question] Are you preparing for two sessions of the Council which will deal with decisions important for the work forces and for the plant?

[Answer] Yes. At one session of the council the program of self-government work will be approved for the first year of operations, its organizational structure, and also a production plan for the foundry this year. At the next meeting the final version of the statutes of self-government and the state enterprise will be resolved and the share of profits earned last year will be verified.

Afeltowicz on Workers' Self-Government

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 18-19-20 Mar 83 pp 3, 9

[Interview with Docent Dr Tomasz Afeltowicz, chairman of the Polish Economic Society, by Wanda Waligora: "Difficult Birth"]

[Text] Workers' self-government, the basis of economic reform and a component part of it, is being formed with difficulty. Its very idea, even after being expressed in a concrete reform program, has had its ardent proponents and opponents. The latter have caused indifference and disappointment to appear for various reasons in all spheres of our social and also economic life. In workers' circles this is frequently expressed by a lack of all interest in the formation of self-government. It is already difficult to speak of enthusiasm. But is it not natural and supportive to follow the creation of something which is directly in the interests of the work forces? One would like to say: "People, watch out because you are missing your chance!"

We are discussing the conditions under which self-government is coming to birth with Docent Dr. Tomasz Afeltowicz, the coauthor of this concept, an authentic spokesman for the idea of self-government for years, and the chairman of the Polish Economic Society.

[Question] After the difficulties which the formation of self-government has met and the slowness with which it is advancing, do you not think that realization of the idea of self-government is generally threatened?

[Answer] Self-government was suspended by a decision of the Council of Ministers on 30 December 1981. But this very document formally retained the possibility of reviving it on the proposal of the director. It is true that the first months of martial law did not favor this at all for generally known reasons.

[Question] Well, they are already behind us.

[Answer] Still, we must return to those days in order to understand the essence of the current difficulties. At that time workers' self-government was condemned for sins which, in my opinion, it never committed. From the political viewpoint it was recognized as the mainstay of the extreme current of Solidarity. I think that this attitude was justified in some cases, but it was spread to nearly all self-government units. I belonged to those who thought that the suspension of workers' self-government in state enterprises was not completely necessary, and that precisely in a situation where the trade unions stopped their activities, it had a chance of surviving and growing stronger, even under conditions where martial law brought understandable restrictions.

[Question] But is it not partially the apprehension that the self-government units will take over the union functions that has retarded their revival?

[Answer] This is one of two reasons. There was a danger that self-government would assume the shape of pseudotrade agencies which were then lacking. They could concentrate on emergency pay and social matters, and other things, losing from their field of vision the long-term interests of the work forces associated with the interests of the entire enterprise, and thus their main purpose.

A second reason hindering revival was the fact that a large percentage of the management staff was not and is not accustomed to work under conditions of real self-government. They lacked the psychological qualifications and predispositions to work under the eyes of a collective which has to decide, check, supervise and intervene in every important enterprise matter. Suspension of self-government gave many directors a chance to hide their faults and their inability to perform their management functions under the new conditions.

[Question] Therefore they have their own personal reasons for opposing self-government...?

[Answer] That is how it must be understood. Only a rather small number of managers understood from the beginning that self-government did not have to be completely a gift from God, but only an institution exceptionally convenient for them. Many of them sought different pretexts to justify their unwillingness to make a proposal to revive self-government. I recall that one appeared in the Swarzedz Furniture Plants, and then nothing for a long time. Appeals to accelerate the process of reviving workers' councils were not very often effective, beginning from the Eighty Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, both on the part of the government and of social and political organizations at different levels. Until the middle of last year this process was barely changed. The proposals, even when they were composed, were often not examined and were in part treated negatively. The causes of such actions by the sponsoring organs were difficult to ascertain. The instructions of 30 December did not anticipate any obligation to inform the proposal-maker, and for such reasons the proposals were not examined affirmatively.

[Question] What finally interrupted this impasse?

[Answer] The instructions of the Council of Ministers of 19 July 1982, authorizing not only directors, but also political, social, union and youth organizations to propose revival of self-government.

[Question] Then this could be, for example, the ZSMP?

[Answer] Yes. But I do not know any particular results of the action of these instructions except their general results. Perhaps the directors did not want to be replaced. And the sponsoring links examining the proposals were also stimulated by the mentioned instructions. At any rate the number of revived self-government units began to increase rapidly from July of last year. There are now about 4,000 of them from over 6,500 enterprises in which they could function. In accord with article 7 of the law on the suspension of martial law of 18 December 1982, the sponsoring organs should bring about the revival of self-government by the end of March of this year in all enterprises without waiting any longer for proposals. This has its good side, because it removes the barriers installed by uninterested people, but it also has a bad side. To wit, in place of a spontaneous impulse of the working class to make this return, instead of the natural tendency toward self-government, we find an administrative factor which may, but need not, coincide with the will of the workforce.

[Question] And here is an utter clash with the concept of spontaneity.

[Answer] Exactly. The fact is that during the existence of the severe martial law regulations the number of workers ready to accept new activity in a certain sense in the workers' councils has significantly diminished. For this reason some councils which are still officially in existence have disintegrated. I think that a long time will pass before people are completely ready to take an active part in self-government again. I do not mean participation inspired by the embodiment of definite norms or regulations or by adequate pressure applied on the part of a political factor or economic administration, but natural participation. The lack of a general genuine will on the part of work forces to implement joint participation in decision processes has seriously weakened the degree of public acceptance of the reform.

[Question] What are the general restrictions on self-government functioning at present? Which of them are particularly criticized?

[Answer] All of them are known to the work forces and are often exaggerated. The law mentioned of 18 December deals with them. The main one refers to the choice of a director. And what about others? For example, the sponsoring organ can still today suspend workers' self-government. A hearing is compulsory, in the sense of a hearing for the sponsoring organ to make a decision even when opposition is voiced. The limitations, although there are not many, have appeared exactly, I would say, in an area sensitive to the process of forming a public relationship toward the idea of self-government.

[Question] Therefore the choice of director in particular has become a bone of contention again. Can this be a fetish?

[Answer] The question of appointing directors has always been the most vehement, emotional, inflammatory point in discussions on the Polish model of workers' councils. Therefore I have no doubt that restrictions on choice in the period of martial law alienated a considerable number of people from active participation, and from participation presented later, in self-government. The workforces recognized the elimination of their right to decide who would be the director as an obstacle of fundamental importance, since this right gave them the confidence that they run the enterprise and strengthened them in the conviction that they control their fate.

In the supplement of 1 February 1983 there is a formal compulsory principle that directors be appointed during competition. Meanwhile this principle is not being observed. Many directors have been appointed without competition. Does this mean that they were or are people unfit to hold the functions of a director? No. I personally know very many of them, dozens functioning in this role. They would certainly have won a qualifying competition if one had been organized. However, I have no doubt at all that many directors do not possess the psychophysical qualifications or predispositions to manage major groups of people under conditions as complex as those of today. If self-government had the right to recall them, the directors would immediately be suspended, since this would be the first proposal of the workers' council, the first one wants to say, but perhaps often the only one.

[Question] What can self-government decide on today?

[Answer] Very many questions. The wide possibilities of functioning give the workers' councils 15 rights contained in article 24 of the law on self-government. Guaranteed are the right to express any opinion, to take the initiative in any matter, and to unlimited objective control. Obviously self-government could not completely exploit all of these rights.

[Question] Surely this is not possible in the plants of the so-called protected as well?

[Answer] Yes. What had to be, had to be. Of the 6,500 enterprises the list of so-called "protected" enterprises of particular significance for the national economy would contain about 1,400. This may not be many, but they include particularly all those which determine the national economy, and thus all the most important concentrations of the working class.

[Question] Is not this "protected" sphere too broad?

[Answer] I think that its range is too broad. I completely recognize the presence in it of plants associated with national defense, fulfilling many very basic functions in our national economy in the area of aviation, telecommunications, mail, railroad and other infrastructures. However, I have always expressed the opinion that this sphere should be as narrow as possible, since every expansion of its means a corresponding restriction on workers' rights.

[Question] Is the main concern the right to choose the director?

[Answer] In factories in the particularly protected sphere the law accords this right to the founding committee. If they were not restrictions resulting from the legal regulations at the time of the martial law suspension, the plants would have the right to question the decision of this committee. Unfortunately this does not apply to factories which were militarized during the martial law period. Thus it is necessary to see the danger that the people will stop believing that self-government is something serious on the whole...

[Question] Will the restrictions on the workers' self-government rights affect the expected influence on the reform results?

[Answer] Self-government is one of the fundamentals of the Polish reform. If this self-government does not come into play, the entire reform may remain an unfulfilled wish. I often use the expression that, in the name of short-term needs, we are ready to put aside something which is important from the viewpoint of the future of our socioeconomic system in Poland. Self-dependence, self-government and self-financing, even though it may sound banal, are things absolutely indispensable for the reform, because they assure a real influence of the work forces on the economic decisions adopted. Without self-government the reform requirements cannot be met. And without the reform, our economy cannot be marshalled onto effective tracks. As a spokesman for the idea of self-government I have greatly regretted that such an essential element of the reform has been separated from it for some time, as a result of which many of its social aspects have been weakened.

[Question] However, opinions have been expressed that the reform can proceed without self-government...

[Answer] There are such opinions. They were revived during the martial law period, although nothing provoked them. It has been said that the entire idea of our self-government reform was poorly thought out. There are managers from the higher levels to the operating levels in enterprises who maintain that the only solution is managerism, and let us add in betrayal of the poor people, that is, one-person, almost uncontrolled authority of the director. Under current conditions with the prevalent universality of this type of opinion, the appearance of something new constantly meets serious obstacles. Their source is personal interest, apprehension of the loss of position, or again personal judgments and convictions of people who are sometimes very influential. Some active workers believe that we escape the cycles of crisis faster just because the reform is not realized, that it has not and does not include self-government and so forth.

There also exist many areas which the reform has not yet covered. Therefore the faster the reform becomes universal and includes all sectors of national management, the better it will be. Still, when I say reform, I mean its definite model, our Polish model of 1981, which is based on the three popular "S's." For the good of the reform I would like the limitations on self-government, stemming from martial law, to be eliminated as early as tomorrow.

[Question] Do you have general confidence in the success of the reform?

[Answer] Do you remember the motto of the Congress of Economists of spring 1981? The reform cannot not succeed. What does this mean? That there are no alternatives. Either we shall totter and suffocate in our tracks or we shall use the reform and begin to dig our way out of the crisis, gradually building an effective economic system.

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CSO: 2600/825

LODZ PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Pabianice Secretariat Recommendations, Requirements

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 17 May 83 p 2

[Article by Str: "From the Session of the Secretariat of the Lodz Committee of PZPR and the Mayor College in Lodz. Analysis of Recommendations and Postulates of Pabianice Inhabitants"]

[Text] At the end of May, in search of a framework of new forms of contact and of dialogue of the authorities with society, nine teams consisting of representatives of the leadership of Lodz Committee of PZPR, of the City of Lodz Administration, of province institutions and of Pabianice authorities conducted a broad visitation of a series of work places, new settlements and educational centers. The teams noted down a number of cases which were brought in by workers' collectives and by individual citizens.

Yesterday a session took place in Lodz of the Secretariat of the Lodz Committee of the party held jointly with the Mayor's College in which participated: the chairman of the National Council of the City of Lodz, Prof Mieczyslaw Serwinski, the directors of many province institutions and Pabianice hosts. During the deliberations, small and big problems of Pabianice were considered, means of solving them were agreed upon. Not everything, unfortunately, can be taken care of in the present crisis situation with diminishing investments and goods shortages.

The deliberations were chaired by the member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, first secretary of the Lodz Committee of PZPR, Tadeusz Czechowicz who stated that the dialogue with society of Pabianice is direct and concrete, there is listening out of citizens in their workshops and during the receiving hours in the plants: he pointed to their personal concerns and to larger issues of the life of the city and of the functioning of authorities. This visit was a certain form of control at once in the manner in which the higher authorities' decisions are implemented as well as their laws and dispositions.

Andrzej Grudzinski, the director of the organization committee of Lodz Committee of the party, informed during the visit in Pabianice, that the teams received 250 customers, and noted down 119 recommendations and postulates. Many of those which concern the work establishments, institutions and local authorities have already been implemented or else are being implemented. Some matters have been directed to departments or central institutions.

During yesterday's session much attention has been devoted to matters of spatial construction and apartment construction and that included the need to expand the city limits, improve the transport, among others, the export bus line to Lodz, develop educational and commercial centers and particularly to perfect their organization, to improve health services, to replenish institutional budgets and cafeterias, conditions and hygiene of work, quantity and quality of protective and work clothes.

The Pabianice visitation once more proved that many matters depend on people, on their good performance of official duties, on local initiatives and on control of the execution of decisions which have been undertaken. We will achieve more and will avoid mistakes and errors. The dialogue with working people in various forms and on different levels is very necessary for this goal.

First Secretary Pawel Zawadzki's Comments

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 17 May 83 p 5

[Interview by Henryk Sroczynski: "A Conversation With First Secretary of Plant Committee of PZPR in J. Marchlewski Plant in Lodz. In the Center and ... to the Side"]

[Text] Seven years of work in the party is not much. However last 7 years which included two congresses and August and December, is a lot for a young activist. Pawel Zawadzki, who after graduating in economics and after his experience with the Union of Polish Students began work in the party apparatus in 1976, reached in that span of time the function of the first secretary of the Plant Committee in the J. Marchlewski Plant in Lodz. All these years of changes in the party he will sum up with one comparison which refers to the situation of the first secretary in the plant: "I began when secretaries were implementing orders, directives and instructions. Nobody 'up at the top' was interested whether this action was in accordance with the interests of the people and in this the hesitations of party members were not taken into account. Today, the truthfulness and purposefulness of the work of the party has been returned; the secretary can have a direct or indirect influence on what happens around us while the party apparatus asks us about our opinion as to how we see it or how we evaluate it."

[Question] What should the first secretary be in the plant? What should characterize him: organizational talent, ability to set political tone or the ability to win people over?

[Answer] I think that every first secretary has his own lifestyle and his style of leading the party organization. But we can also talk about common demands towards secretaries. In the first place I will mention the knowledge of marxism-leninism. Unfortunately one frequently forgets the need to know this revolutionary theory. In the second place I would put organizational skills--the secretary must lead that means inspire to work, define tasks and settle up. The question of first secretary's attitude to people is tied with this--whether he is able to attract them and win them over, whether he is able to break up the barriers of distaste and inability. This feature gains particular importance with a secretary who joins the plant from outside. Generally speaking, a secretary must constantly talk with people, must be able to start and to conduct the conversations with workers....

[Question] Do you want to say that the first secretary should be a leader?

[Answer] The word "leader" has been compromised with us. But it is the truth that there are no parties without leaders. Every community desires to have a man who shows the way, who knows what to say, who can reach their thought and their heart, who can unite all. Leadership, if it is performed in accordance with the expectations of the people, loses its negative tint. General Jaruzelski is becoming such an unquestionable party leader who behaves according to the feelings of party members. To answer your question whether the first secretary of a plant should be a leader, I will also note such a fact: in every party organization in our plant the comrades want that the first secretary of the plant committee would come to meetings. This is the result of an expectation that if he comes, he will speak, that it will be possible to have a discussion with him and to present to him their own point of view. In our plant, meetings often have a very stormy course. Here for example at the meeting of the District Party Organization [OOP] in the section of the Main Energy expert I had a heated debate with some comrades (I even lost my temper--please forgive me for that). I agreed with some of their opinions, we explained a lot to each other and now we are united by a common standpoint. Such a mutual understanding I consider indispensable for party work.

[Question] To what degree in your opinion is the activity of all party members in the plant conditioned by the work of the Plant Committee leadership?

[Answer] To a very high degree. The example of the Plant Committee projects onto the work at the bottom and often it even has a decisive meaning. If the leadership of the plant organization does not have the program of action, a far-sighted program, and if it does not implement it constantly, then the work at the bottom will limp and will be failing. The Plant Committee cannot be indifferent to negative phenomena in the lowest party basic units. If, for instance, for a variety of reasons only half of members of PZPR comes to meetings, it is a task for the Central Committee to find out what is the cause of this and in consequence to settle up with those comrades who do not have the courage to implement the party line. A certain woman worker, a nonmember of the party of our plant asked me at some point of time: why do these people belong to the party if they remain silent and behave so indifferently, if they do not want to admit that they belong to PZPR and do not want to defend the party when it is attacked? It is not exclusively the fault of those people.

Our fault is found here because we have not armed them in theories, we did not give them arguments indispensable for speaking up. Mainly people with grey temples defend the party everywhere with complete conviction and with passion today, that is those people who have behind them a lot of experience.

[Question] Let us return to the matter of attendance at meetings. How to speak about the duty of participation at a meeting if the comrade who conducts it recites a formula at the end of it: thank you all for coming....

[Answer] It happens like that.... But there are also in our plant customs which are worth being popularized. In one of the basic party organizations [POP] a principle was introduced that one can be excused from attending a meeting only at a party members meeting. In practice this is how it looks: the secretary reads name of a comrade, gives the reason why he wants to leave the meeting and then the question is posed to those present at the meeting if they dismiss him? This format adds authority to the party meeting and makes one realize how important is the duty to participate in a meeting for a party member. We also want to use generally a principle that if someone cannot meet an obligation then he has a duty to give a prior indication and first of all provide an answer why he is unable to do so. We will talk to those comrades who have a "loose" relationship to the party: we are concerned to learn more closely the atmosphere among the passive party members and to learn the real reasons of this passivity. The meeting we believe should start with questions to those comrades who have not justified their absence and with settling up with them. The principles of discipline in the party also demand that the meeting should undertake all decisions, if possible, concerning the punishment. So far mainly the commissions of party control deal with this, although they should consider only difficult, complicated matters. The formula which you mentioned should not be ending the meetings, of course, but a short resolution containing two or three points and containing tasks for a month or for a longer period. And with this resolution, the party work must begin....

[Question] These are matters connected with the knowledge of the statute.

[Answer] Of course; the PZPR statute into which at the last meeting so many positive cannons were written should be well known in party organizations and they should be guided by it day by day. Just as we are guided by it in the question of internal party organization. There are no topics which are "taboo." I cannot imagine stifling criticism. The authenticity of the party which is expressed by its statute, is preserved; this should provide a basis for members of the party to be very active.

[Question] We are talking about party work and we bypass the fact that it has as its goal a rebuilding of trust among the plant crew members.

[Answer] We consider these questions to be most important. Our party organizations in the plant are open to all matters of all people. Many people come with many matters to the Plant Committee or to the Basic Party Organization KZ POP: with apartment, social, family troubles and the like. We intervene and arrange these matters even though it weighs very much on us and even if it burdens us. We extend hand to everyone in difficult situation and

we do not divide people—they come and use our help, even those who only recently were fiercely against us. We do this not just for a show but simply because we are far from all divisions and especially from revenge. Unfortunately as our authority increases and as the plant crew becomes convinced that the party acts effectively, certain people again want to put up barriers. We are annoyed, for instance, that some masters give in to pressure. We count on concrete activity for the benefit of the plant crew solving the question and not on the maliciousness of the opponents. We hope that in this activity also the trade unions will become more visible.

[Question] Surely the attitude of the management towards the plant crew interests weighs too.

[Answer] The workers frequently address critical comments to the directors of various departments and managements. It happens that when they criticize wastefulness or deficiencies, employees answer: what do you know about it, it is none of your business, there are specialists there, they know what they do. A blue-collar worker can sometimes be wrong but that is not important. What is important are his intentions. He expresses his full concern for good economy through his critical comments; this is behavior resulting from honest attitude to work. We demand, therefore, that in every case the worker be given a clear and unambiguous answer. Otherwise indifferent or else even more critical attitudes directed against the management and indirectly against the party will become ingrained. Economics is politics, isn't it?

[Question] In the plant there are 5,000 employees and almost 1000 party members. Statistically...

[Answer] Let us not talk about statistics. I think that it is not percentages but their ability to act, what "power to get through" they have, that counts. I am far from reading names off mechanically and firing them from work, but I also cannot get reconciled to the fact that organizations are stuck with a ball and chain on their legs: I have in mind people who are unable to define themselves. Let us also blame ourselves here. Our weakness is that we continue to show the party history in an inadequate manner, its goals and the goals of socialism, that we cannot look back and to realize what great achievements the party has. To a large extent a weak tie with the party is the result of the weakness of work with PZPR members in this domain: a passive posture. They do not realize how much the country owes them. If it was not for so well developed basis of industry potential the effects of the crisis would have been much more painful. What we need is raw materials and people. The rest will be taken care of by time and work.

[Question] And the last question: you, comrade, are one of those secretaries of plant organizations who brought in and still bring in much that is new into the life of the party. What are the reasons for this?

[Answer] I think that I gained a lot of good from my work in youth movement of the Union of Polish Students. This organization which has over 60 percent students in its ranks had political and social aspirations. It performed broad educational work. The political work in this milieu taught each of us good

work relations, a proper attitude to human matters, gave rise in us to the need to bring help to others, and in general was characterized by mutual warmth, so indispensable for any community, and by a lack of anger. After graduation from college, the wish to continue social work and "to be active" persuaded me to work in the party apparatus. If you ask what motives guide me then I will answer: everything depends on party members, on us ourselves in the party, which, like any living organism, undergoes changes. That it is so I constantly have the occasion to convince myself. All my inspirations arise from this conviction.

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CSO: 2600/957

PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

New Outlook in PRON Declarations

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 24 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Bogdan Kujawa: "Reading the Declaration of Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth; A New Outlook on Man's Environment"]

[Text] PRON'S articles of declaration are received synthetically and in a very limpid fashion. They likewise contain statements that, without exaggeration, can be qualified as revealing. For example, from an excerpt dealing with efforts on behalf of designing man's environment we read:

"We have in mind the spiritual environment—anxiety for the development and proper material protection of culture, science and education—as well as the natural environment whose present state is alarming and requires extensive, national action. In both fields we wish to draw those into our ranks who strive for the reparation of wrong doings and the prevention of new threats."

It must be immediately stated that the idea itself of environmental protection is not unknown to us. We have an excellent law in that respect, which is mentioned here and there as a model. There was even no lack of humor on this subject. "Don't protect the environment, protect the man!" Wieslaw Brudzinski quipped. Because really: until now we have had an excess of form over matter, besides being quite unprecisely and rather unilaterally oriented.

Not only because protection of man's environment was understood exclusively as protection of the natural environment, and not only because legally binding decrees in this field—were not binding in practice. More—despite efforts of some institutions and people, despite penalties with which the perpetrators of particularly irritating incidents are stricken—the legal standards generally could not bind in a practical manner, because conditions to that end were not created. The nicely formulated statute remained suspended in air.

And now we have a condition such as this, which requires decisive, comprehensively prepared, administrative and social intervention. A base is definitely being prepared underneath the latter by the PRON declaration.

But it does something considerably more. It unites the postulate of man's environmental protection with the assumption of natural environmental protection. That is to say, the creation of material protection for culture, science and education. A union of this type, advanced for the first time, can prove to be exceedingly useful to society. For, despite all sorts and kinds of official declarations, and also--unfortunately--social, there was a lack of appropriate understanding for this "spiritual nourishment" in previous assumptions. Deeds did not follow declarations.

But after all, to say nothing indeed of aesthetic experiences, the need for enough books, films, theatrical plays, musical works, must we--in order to reach the first step--school textbooks, become convinced that a man who understands more--can give more of himself to himself and the nation.

If we wish to insist--as Lec did on an 8-hour day of thought, then it will not be accomplished by itself. Organizational strength is essential and capable of securing adequate circumstances and conditions. PRON actually came out with such an initiative.

Bialystok Province PRON Activities

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 26-27 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by A. Zarembina: "Confidence in One's Abilities"]

[Text] There are several districts in Bialystok where new construction with its skyscrapers has not been introduced; where people move slowly about the muddy streets which often lack lighting. These could be mentioned by name, where nothing happens, where no one has ever heard about anything like social concern over the appearance of streets and residential improvements. Out of this monotony, there stands out the remote district of Starosielce, which is located on the very outskirts of the city. Its residents say that, evidently on the basis of historic facts, Starosielce came first, and only later did the city of Bialystok come into being. But this fact does not influence residents to care or worry about their community. They have simply understood that in this great effort to develop the city, the capital of the province, there was little feeling for the suburbs, as if they were nonexistent.

And so what were they to do? Just observe with envy cities glowing in the distance; and devote their spare time to sitting on porches in front of their homes? And when elsewhere residents stewed in their neighborhoods and frustrations, they simply set themselves to work. Despite being beset by numerous difficulties, they endured all with vigor.

We accompanied these accomplishments; we did not skimp on space in the newspaper in order to show the social work and enthusiasm so rarely encountered.

In their spare time after work, they built a neighborhood club. During the evenings they lighted up the area, pounded with hammers, hauled gravel and sand; there were no idle spectators there, everyone had something to do. The grand opening of the club was festive, with the presence of city officials and the participation of their own vocal and musical group. The whole district celebrated. And so there was a club indeed, and their own swimming pool. The people had confidence in their own abilities. One mutual undertaking succeeded, as will a second one.

Why should children have to attend distant schools? We shall build a school!-- and they did, although again this is not a simple matter. It is difficult to believe, but there is a school. And a school football field for football games also.

It was also necessary to take care of the younger children. Street games outside the home became hazardous. More and more heavy autos traveled the street enroute to neighboring manufacturing plants. So efforts were made to install a Jordan garden. It is not a large garden, but it will suffice for the children. It became their favorite, and what is more important, a safe place to play.

Next came the solution to troublesome problems concerning supplies. Shops in tight quarters ceased to be adequate, and a trip downtown was a whole expedition. Besides, it is difficult to make a trip for each item needed at the moment in the household. And so, after considerable counsel, the building of a trade pavilion was launched. A water supply line was also constructed, and at last it was not necessary to run to the well with buckets.

Every meeting of Community Committee No 17 resembled a staff meeting where all methods of solving community problems are debated. All social endeavors were crowned with success. For the construction of the swimming pool, club, football field, playground and school, the residents contributed their share voluntarily.

For this effort, the district of Starosielce received the Millenium Award of the Polish Nation. Such a distinction after all, for one modest district, brought tremendous satisfaction to each and every person.

It is very easy and effective to enumerate all the achievements of the district, while praising the public work of the residents. But after all, before the club opened, before the children crossed the threshold of their school, and the first soccer games were scheduled on their own football field, and before a saleslady stood behind the new counter, it was necessary along the way to overcome extensive difficulties. Almost every day new problems continued to emerge--with materials, transportation and finally with funds.

Each single annal of individual construction can provide rich material for publication regarding social action and people who carry out those actions. How many times materials were made available in remote provinces-- Lublin, Olsztyn, and even in Slask it was not difficult to reach them, although indeed no delegations were utilized.

The transportation of building materials was the responsibility of private truck owners: Zdzislaw Nowacki, Jozef Jedlinski and others; while Henryk Kozlowski, Antoni Kozlowski, Ewa Nowacka, Henryk Bielawski and Tadeusz Janicki moved the small equipment around in their private automobiles. There was no keeping track of time, after all there was a common need. There were no shirkers, because it was simply improper to detach oneself from the joint effort. Some even took leave from work when the work on construction was particularly important and difficult. It seemed to quite a few that without their help, all would collapse, cave in; and so, how does one deal with time here?

One grosz after another was saved. Income from the discotheque and snack-bar organized in the club are designated for social purposes. Income from expropriated premises which constituted common property was sacrificed. In conjunction with this, there were no special complaints, excuses, it was a common cause.

In the past 2 years, all attention was concentrated on the roads. Just as in every suburban district, here also the road surfaces were under every criticism possible. To be sure, cinders were spread, but what did that do? In the summer, dust covered the windows of the homes, and when it rained, it was still necessary to wade through puddles. And so, the roads became the next matter to be dealt with. At present, already 60 percent of the roads have received asphalt and concrete surfacing. Road work still continues and in the spring, it picks up speed.

It must be admitted that these social accomplishments of the residents were supported by manufacturing plants, located in the district. Not one plant refused specific aid.

In Starosielce, a Regional Council of PRON was appointed, which will mutually share in the community life of the residents with the community committee.

Albert Radulski, PRON chairman of Community Council stated: In our district the work for the benefit of the community and for the common good is especially respected. We positively reject all false attitudes whatsoever. All decisions, practically to the most minute details are mutually reviewed, determined and executed. Not only public works unite the community. Help to the needy is also fully developed. For example, ration cards are delivered to elderly and sick people directly to their homes to save them the trouble. Likewise, PRON and Community Committee activists fill out applications for anyone who needs assistance, advise as to where to go and how to handle any matter. We strive to solve usual, daily problems, ease the cares troubling many people. Everyone can participate in these endeavors, and all should do their utmost to make life easier.

Bydgoszcz Precongress PRON Campaign

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 28 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by DSP: "Absence from National Life is an Attitude Leading Nowhere"]

[Text] The campaign planned prior to the congress for 7-9 May 1983 is growing and embraces ever-broadening social circles. The movement gradually influences diligent activists and followers, but its principles are more widely debated also by citizens who are yet only observers of this movement. In the precongress debate, we cast our vote today for both the activists of the movement and its observers.

Andrzej Nawrot--student at Bydgoszcz Technological-Agricultural Academy:

"Thus far, I have not expressed my entry into PRON, most certainly because no one has approached me on this. However, I see the need for a spontaneous social movement such as PRON. This movement rallies people who--as is stressed in the draft of the declaration--are convinced that 'absence from national life is an attitude leading nowhere.' This type of attitude is ever more widespread, therefore, the movement should also be developed.

"There are not many young people in PRON yet, nor students. I do not feel that this could be an expression of the attitudes of young people, because in our behavior there is greater demonstration of indifference than follows from convictions expressed in the majority of friendly and serious discussions and debates. I think that there is too little dialogue with young people and that political proponents, educators and our parents have no patience with the youth. PRON supporters should take this seriously."

Urszula Dobralubow, supervisor of a health resort hospital ward, chairman of PRON Municipal Council in Inowroclaw, PRON congress delegate:

"We live with problems tormenting the people of Inowroclaw. Mutually we will strive with municipal authorities to expedite work on construction of the Inowroclaw hospital and investments not only particularly necessary, after all, for the society of our city. We will strive to increase the tempo of housing construction in the city. Urgent matters requiring solution are also the problems associated with environmental protection. Our city needs a sewage plant, and our manufacturing plants must place greater emphasis on decreasing air pollution by using dust cleaning equipment."

Bronislaw Pomiecinski, member of the Steering Committee of PRON's Municipal Committee, an employee of the Military Recruiting Station and a delegate to PRON congress:

"For 40 years I have been associated with Inowroclaw. The problems of its residents are close to me. I realize that we must yet achieve much in order to improve the city's aesthetics, which indeed once provided a model of cleanliness for others. As a professional soldier, I would like our young generation to hold close the memory of those people who fought to liberate our land, shedding their blood and giving their own lives for our freedom; may the care of soldiers' graves--as was stated by one of the speakers at PRON's municipal conference in Inowroclaw--not emanate from the desire to achieve a higher grade or school report, but rather out of genuine respect for the heroes and patriots."

Barbara Berlinski-Pliszka, president of the Sugar Co-op Works in Grudziadz and delegate to PRON congress:

"I regard the approaching PRON congress as a forum where one should seek avenues of understanding with that segment of society that currently remains in a position of passivity and noncommitment. I realize that this will not be easy. The economic conditions of the country, mainly deepening inflation, weaken people's faith in the perspective for peaceful existence, based on lasting economic fundamentals. I take note in the instance of women who constitute a significant portion of the work force in our co-op. Most of them are indifferent, disinclined to participate in social life, being occupied only with their own affairs, simply because they are overwhelmed with everyday problems whose burden is carried mainly by family mothers.

"One can understand attitudes of this type, but is not permitted to agree with them. It is necessary to find a means of raising, of awakening these social circles, which at the moment only await their inclusion in the broad stream of change that is indeed taking place in our country. And here I see PRON's role as a current movement in various communities in which it is necessary to persistently develop an awareness of the fact that overcoming the crisis is not only a matter for the government administration, but for the entire nation.

"That segment of society whose participation I regard as absolutely essential to our movement are the young people. There is a good deal of indifference and apathy among them, because they have been also very strongly affected by the moral crisis which we are undergoing. They were brought up with the conviction that it is going to 'get something for nothing,' often in an atmosphere of ideological-moral duplicity; they complain to us about their difficult start in life. However, even more so, they should join in creating the future of the country, not being indeed led by the hand, not 'being ordered'--but independently, according to their own aspirations and desires. At the same time, PRON in its deliberations and endeavors should assume broad scale training of the young generation--for the sake of avoiding mistakes which we have committed, and whose most threatening source I think is the aforementioned duplicity.

"One of the important pursuits of our movement is associated--in my opinion--with the question of a public opinion survey. People today are greatly responsive to a request for their opinion before decisions are made concerning essential social matters--one of the most important indications of the democratization of the country. I think that PRON has an opportunity to become a broad multicommunity public survey platform."

Alfons Wentland, Strzelno State Farm [PGR] assistant director, chairman of the local PRON Temporary District-Municipal Council:

"One of our fundamental obligations continues to be the attraction of people to the movement from all social circles, the development of a feeling, of a civic responsibility for our common cause and of social activity. In the city and district, 170 individual citizens applied for admission to the movement; so numerous are the active participants in our operation. There are quite a few young people in this group and a large number of workers. However, we observe certain reservations towards PRON on the part of elderly people, who are often experienced and formerly active social functionaries. We wish to attract them, we also wish PRON to make its presence known to a greater degree in the village.

"We gain the confidence of people when the results of our work become evident. For this reason we shall undertake the matters which most aggravate people today. For example, after a deep study of the situation, we wish to present the administration with the results of a public survey on the possibilities for economizing on living quarters in attics, and on the subject of the function of trade. We shall see to it that public surveys always reflect decisions when conducted in the city and district, so that people may exert influence on the function of executive authority."

PRON Sessions, Meetings, Discussions

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 29 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by PAP: "Conferences, Meetings, Debates...Preceding PRON Congress"]

[Text] The Statutory Committee of the Provisional National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival, at a meeting held on 28 this month, summarized the results of a 2-month debate conducted in movement districts on a draft of PRON's statutory principles. Certain changes and specifications were made in the format of the movement statute, which were mainly intended to render this document as informal as possible.

Changes introduced do not as yet constitute a final phase in the creation of the document that will be submitted for final consideration at the May PRON congress. However, inclinations have already presently become apparent to emphasize tendencies in the statute to raise--the objective role of society as the chief function of the movement. The need was

also stressed to state precisely the conception of renewal which runs through the statute. Raising these problems in motions from the region, as well as in committee conferences, proves the absolute necessity for a strict union of statutory principles with the declaration of PRON.

Prof Henryk Groszyk, chairman Statutory Committee of PRON's Provisional National Council [TRK] led the conferences.

Yesterday's meeting of TRK PRON's Program Committee was devoted to an evaluation of the course of date of pregress debate on the draft of the declaration for the national revival movement, as well as to the exchange of opinions on that subject.

The debate concerned such problems as the form of the movement, its origin, ideological assumptions, program and directions of efforts, and also PRON's place in the political system. Attention was focused on the need for establishing PRON in sociopolitical life, so that it could be an organizer of surveys on more important legal acts, movements of the government and regional administration. Also, problems concerning economic reform and economic matters in general were treated.

Conferences were conducted by prof Janusz Reykowski, Program Committee chairman and a member of the TRK PRON Steering Committee.

There is an ongoing debate on the declaration and statutory principles of PRON. Members of the Communications Committee for Social and Scientific Initiative representing the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] precisely stated their views on these documents at a meeting on 28 this month. Prof Witold Hensel, committee chairman, led the conferences.

On 28 this month, a meeting of a group of lectors from the Central Committee of the PZPR, and Prof Marian Orzechowski, CC secretary and general secretary of the TRK PRON, was devoted to discussing PRON endeavors preceding the approaching congress for the rebirth movement.

A meeting devoted to national harmony was organized by the Kartuzy division of the Association for Peace [PAX]. Participating in the meeting were, among others, representatives of local political organizations, the government and administration. Kazimierz Jaworski, a member of PRON's Provisional Council, in his introductory address presented contributions of PAX on behalf of harmony.

The debate focused on the draft of the declaration and statutory PRON principles, as well as the authority and effectiveness of the efforts of this movement.

Some fundamental problems raised were: public reception of the movement, its credibility and effectiveness in action; the relationship between National Unity Front [FJN] and PRON, as well as between PRON and Citizens Committee for National Rebirth [OKON]' the structure, scope and forms of PRON action; PRON's commitments evolving from the current needs of society.

among other things, the need was raised to bring to the forefront the declaration; conduct peaceful and objective debates; assure a broader distribution of information on problems and achievements of PRON, social and political organizations and authorities in the region.

Approach to PRON Propagandizing

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 2-3-4 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Grazyna Zwolinski: "Pampering PRON?"]

[Text] With all its faults and virtues, our propaganda also has one real characteristic. It must always maintain some type of orderly sacredness. Obviously--immune. Hence it maintains this even today.

For, let us observe... In our press it is possible to criticize almost anything. Including the party, the government and the concept of reform. In case of doubt, one can publish the basic doctrines of socialism. In the officially edited press, even marxism is not immune. Only the Patriotic Movement for National Revival [PRON] is immune. There is nothing bad written about it. There is nothing written even from a standpoint of so-called constructive criticism.

For many reasons this is indeed one of the causes for the relative popularity and credibility of this movement in society. Because after all, no one has a claim on infallibility. Not unless one wishes to believe in the infallibility of the pope. Consequently, even an aspiring movement must often (and at any rate can) err in some segment of the intended concept; enter a blind alley; attract people upon whom it cannot depend. Furthermore, PRON proponents themselves have many doubts which they discuss not only in their circles, and even though it does not reduce the rank of the movement in any way--but even quite the reverse, it indicates that it lives indeed--nothing is written about this at all. But if there is now, then it is so seldom that it does not have any influence on the picture presented to readers.

It is characteristic for it to happen this way, despite the fact that the PRON members encourage real debate on the movement and the raising of new proposals, as well as an assessment of that which they propose. PRON members do not ask for a hagiography at all. And most likely they are not appreciative of the fact that they have earned for themselves the appearance of untouchable sanctity.

And so I suppose that it is worth writing something in another key for the benefit of the movement. Because PRON, treated otherwise, will change into a meek Trabalski elephant. And that elephant, as we recall, among other things stated: "I knew it well, but I forgot, perhaps one of you might know what I wanted?"

Wicked thoughts such as these came to mind when I recently sat through a meeting of factory unit representatives of the PRON movement from Wroclaw and the province of Wroclaw. It took place in Dolmel. Prof Ryszard Badura, chief of the PRON Provincial Council personally participated in it.

The meeting went as meetings go. It had a beginning, a middle and an end. However, despite those proportions, it left an impression of longing.

Because for the most part it went as follows: First Prof Badura presented something in the form of a general outline of the character of the movement and described preparations for the congress (a short address by representatives of the plant and region are omitted). Afterwards the PRON chairman at Dolmel described what they are doing there. Then a discussion followed in which each person described what he does, or will do in his plant. The entire meeting divulged that all factory PRON members are in search of that type of field endeavor, that will not replace factory administration nor social organization.

These searches extend in various directions. Sometimes arousing doubts. At least mine. At the same time these people have hopes of finding some kind of inducement in higher places. For example, in the drafted declaration or from another level of supporters. As long as they defend their ideas and believe in them, which in the final analysis is beautiful and understandable, because after all, without this they would exert no effort whatsoever.

Only one debater spoiled the mood in the mutual exchange of experiences. He continued to question the real role that PRON should play in the factory system. Because this is not specified in the draft of the declaration nor in the statutory principles. In the 4th chapter of the latter, it states in fact that: "The basic sectors and instruments of the movement support and develop social and socioeconomic endeavors intended to improve the living and working conditions of the citizens, develop education, science and culture, improve health and public sanitation, combat social pathology, protect the environment, etc." And this sounds wonderful. But it is general enough that within the confines of a specific place of employment, it adapts to the professional unions, party organization, self-determination and management, as well as administration. Therefore, if one yet places PRON into all of this, then the entanglement of good intentions and ability is complete. Maybe it should be specified?--the unruly debater asked.

At that moment I silently proposed a question to myself that absolutely has no place in this company: "But are PRON factory units generally necessary?" No one in the auditorium unequivocally asked about it. Not even that certain debater. Anyway, I suppose some of the people assembled did not have such doubts at all. Only that hearing accounts about what they are doing, I could not continually dispel my suspicions that, however, they are replacing the administration and other social bodies.

For example, a PRON member from Budopol related that in their area members of that unit joined the social committee and belong to a group of advisors to the director. As he described it, they selected control of the social situation as a goal for themselves. They occupied themselves with wages and introduced a broader application of piecework pay.

A PRON member from Wolow presented points on the tasks adopted for themselves by the units there. And so: arouse the endeavors of social committees, contribute to the revival of socialist professional unions, work for the benefit of expanding social participation in implementing economic reform, improvement in the quality of goods, integration of the work force for the implementation of economic reform. I managed to take notes on that much, more or less, but I suppose it will suffice.

Many supporters saw PRON's role in the initiation of various forms of housing construction. A few insisted that the institutional PRON assume the cultivation of awareness by the workforce.

Practically everyone of these commitments is located in a plant under someone's supervision. And as far as I could see, any meaning for the existence of a PRON unit in enterprise, in which there are as yet no professional unions nor self-determination, I then later indeed see only heel-dragging. For example, let us take the matter of wages. This certainly lies in the sphere of union influence and self-determination. Someone may say that PRON will only initiate this matter. Not so, but for example, the unions also only initiate. Is PRON therefore to initiate the initiative of the unions? And the issue of housing, progress in the quality of production, cultivation of relations towards reform, etc.? With this it is the same. So...?

So perhaps a conference would be in order, at which PRON factory supporters could attempt to specify why they are necessary in those plants and whether they should be in every plant. Because for the time being they are mainly replacements, even if they violently deny this. After all, there would be nothing wrong in replacement if it were not for the fact that it assumes and sanctions the indolence of institutions and organizations that were replaced.

Factory structures began to spring up when the PRON movement was in the formative stage. It is nowhere stated that this is a concept from which there is no return. Just as it is nowhere required that PRON be present in every factory (and such a numerical approach yields to the senses). Simply put, there can be plants where PRON in its present stage can have a reason (even replacing), but there are also those where it will certainly go asking: "I knew it well, but I forgot, perhaps some of you know what I wanted." This last state of affairs will not increase PRON's authority anymore than pampering the movement.

Editor's comment: What one generally says about newborn children is that they are nice and hold great promise. It is, therefore, difficult to write about a movement that is just starting--critically, at least because it has not yet earned this. Which does not mean that one should not reflect on its status, potential and ability, for example, in the manufacturing plants. In each case the matter is worthy of consideration, and if our readers see it in a very concise form, we will gladly publish their impressions.

Lodz Precongress PRON Campaign

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 2-3-4 Apr 83 p 2

[Article by Cz. Z.: "Deliberations of Provincial Committee for Joint Party and Political Party Actions; Proposals of Precongress Campaign of Patriotic Movement for National Revival; Social Committee Appointed for 1 May Celebration"]

[Text] Yesterday, a meeting of the Joint Party and Political Parties Action Provincial Committee took place under the chairmanship of Tadeusz Czechowicz, a member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Lodz Committee of the PZPR with the assistance of: Andrzej Hampel, KL PZPR secretary; Jerzy Chojnacki, president of the Provincial Committee of the United Peasants Party [WK ZSL] in Lodz; Stanislaw Zalobny, chairman Lodz Committee of the Democratic Party [LK SD]; Andrzej Kaczorowski, LK SD secretary; Jozef Urbanski, chairman of the Provincial Division of the Peace [PAX] Association in Lodz; Andrzej Galecki, chairman of the Lodz Division of the Christian Social Association [Ch SS]; Mieczyslaw Serwinski, chairman of the National Council of the city of Lodz; Igor Sikirycki, chairman of the Local Provincial Council of the Patriotic Movement of National Revival in Lodz [WTR PRON]; Jozef Niewiadomski, president of the city of Lodz; Wojciech Jablonski, chairman of the Lodz Polish Socialist Youth Union [ZL ZSMP]; Pawel Babijski, commander Lodz Council Polish Scouts Association; and Jan Kwiatek, chairman of the Provincial Youth Union [ZW ZMW] in Lodz.

The fundamental subject matter of the deliberations was the scope of the precongress campaign in basic PRON units in Lodz Province, as well as preparations for the provincial assembly of this movement, which--let us remember--will take place in 1 week, the 9th this month. Reflections and proposals from precongress campaign operations in the basic units of PRON in Lodz province--in factory and local Citizens Committees for National Revival in provinces, cities and districts--were presented by Igor Sikirycki. He stressed that during the further course of the campaign, preceding the congress, the further dissemination of a summary of the basic documents of the movement, its declarations and statutory principles is necessary. The main theme of the debate that has been taking place to date on those documents concerns: origin and form of PRON: main course of action of this movement; and especially its consulting role. Many questions that were placed on the debate agenda concern the place of PRON

in the sociopolitical system of our country. Most frequently in the debates, it is claimed that legislative initiative belonged to PRON, and likewise that the movement had the right to control and assess the central authorities and local administration.

PRON enters the most important phase of its activities, a phase deciding the development of this movement in the future. Therefore, at present and also in the immediate future, broadening of the economic base of this movement, reaching the youth, the creative communities, the villages and all socioprofessional groups with its ideas and design for action is a very important matter.

In the course of the campaign to date in the basic units of PRON in Lodz Province, besides delegates to the provincial assembly, 27 representatives were also selected for the congress. The provincial assembly will elect the next 18 delegates to the congress and will also recommend 5 representatives from Lodz Province to the National Council of PRON. Lodz will, therefore, be represented in force at the PRON congress.

In point two of the deliberations, Grzegorz Misiewicz, director of the KL PZPR Division of Propaganda, familiarized the Joint Party and Political Parties Action Committee with the program commemorating 1 May, the Democratic Party holiday on 3 May and Victory Day in Lodz and the Lodz Province. With the advent of these holidays, the organization of many events, meetings and ceremonies are expected to take place. Among other events on Labor Day, in keeping with long standing, historical, Lodz traditions, a rally will be held at Victory Square.

The Joint Party and Political Parties Action Committee approved the 1 May, 3 May and Victory Day celebration programs, and appointed a social committee for the Labor Day and 1 May celebrations.

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WEEKLY CLAIMS WEST OVERREACTING TO SOVIET-POLISH POLEMICS

Soviet NEW TIMES Article

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 21, 21 May 83. p 5

[Text] In the past few weeks, journalists of the Western press accredited in Poland or temporarily residing here, and also their colleagues in their headquarters have tried to convince world public opinion that in Poland a new public situation is arising. Untiringly, they argued that its most significant element is the intensive political activity of Lech Walesa. It is described in minute details and with the greatest excitement. From this, it was concluded that appearing before long on the Polish political scene will be the troika as known before 13 December 1981, Government-Church-Solidarity. There is no doubt that this strenuous creation of an imagined situation was connected with the hopes that the West placed in the test of forces which was to take place on 1 and 3 May.

The proceedings of the 1 May holiday disappointed the expectations of those Western politicians who are set for confrontation with the East, assigning Poland the role of a country creating a constant state of conflict. Also disappointed were those sensation-seekers, the above-mentioned journalists.

Therefore, it is not strange that with enormous energy, they threw themselves at a new topic, Andrey Ryzhov's article in NOVOYE VREMYA [NEW TIMES]. The article containing critical remarks about our newspaper, was treated by the majority of Western mass media at the least as an official government document. The article of the Soviet journalists was thrust at once into the framework of Polish-Soviet relations. We are declining even a passing mentioning of the commentary which appeared in the West in connection with this article because involvement in phenomena bordering on the absurd does not lie in the tradition of our newspaper. And on this note we could finish our commentary if not for the wave of senseless commentaries which appeared in the Western mass media after the publication of an article entitled "Andrey Ryzhov on Politics." We considered the publication of this text as our duty to the readers who in the case of our silence would be lost in speculation, suspicions, etc. There is also no doubt that the diversionary radio centers Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and others day in and day out feed their listeners with idiotic comments. After all, they are masters of provocation and the sowing of discord in the minds of Poles.

We already explained our attitude toward the text published in NEW TIMES in the article "A. Ryzhov on Politics". We did so because we feel that giving undue significance to such occurrences is not in the interest of strengthening Polish-Soviet friendship. We consider tending to Polish-Soviet friendship, this historical achievement of the Polish and Soviet nations as one of the primary goals of our activity. The front pages of POLITYKA provide innumerable examples stating this and no other attitude toward the Soviet Union. If published texts cannot reach their intended valuation in every case, this fact does not change the major direction of our activities on the Soviet issue or any issues which concern the strengthening of Polish-Soviet friendship. This, by the way, is similar to other problems and subjects undertaken by the paper. Standing decisively on the ground of socialism, identifying with the party line and that of the state, with the program of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, we do not at all think that the fruits of our observations and considerations are perfect in every case. From this comes the need for discussion, even critical, and for an exchange of thought which should promote a deeper, Marxist evaluation of the political situation in Poland.

Let's return, however, to the Western mass media, which treated the publication POLITYKA in an unusual way, even for the customs prevailing in the bourgeois press. As to the data, the at least not vulgar but serious dailies gave the matter the importance of a great ideological and interstate fight. Bernard Guetta, journalist of LE MONDE, known for his adverse attitude toward party and government policy, invented, "Tension Between Warsaw and Moscow". Another journalist, Roger Boyce, correspondent of the once respectable TIMES, judging from what he writes a champion for the Poland of 13 December 1981, already in the title of his correspondence stated that the Warsaw weekly gave "a rebuff to Moscow." Yes, to Moscow. The NEW YORK TIMES published an article entitled "Poland Is Allowing the Party Weekly to Refute an Attack on the Military Regime." Dan Fisher, correspondent of the LOS ANGELES TIMES, which has already published more than one invention about our country (among others the completely fabricated life history of Gen W Jaruzelski) also moved in the same direction. He repeated the thesis about "the rebuff which POLITYKA gave to Moscow." A correspondent of L'UNITA developed "Uncertainty in Poland After the New Tightening Up," and he even managed to tie the activity of L Walesa to the article in NEW TIMES. How far can hostility and obstinancy lead!

The answer to the question of what purpose this sensationalism is to serve is simple. Since the hopes related to the underground and the opposition are disappointing, since from month to month the sociopolitical situation in Poland is stabilizing, it is necessary to take advantage of the opportunity and declare "tension between Moscow and Warsaw." It is necessary to convince the world that Poland is in a state of upheaval, that our country is a constantly active volcano.

These almost professional sensation-seekers have treated our paper most peculiarly. Since the appearance of the first issue of POLITYKA during martial law, we have been for them a paper which has lost its previous qualities, a sad echo of our former excellence. It was often written about us that we acted immorally declaring ourselves for the "Jaruzelski junta." We were placed in opposition to those who, after the introduction of martial law, left our group.

Underground papers echoed the most insulting calumnies which were thrown at us.... Now, suddenly, it appears that we are "the most liberal Polish weekly" (from a Reuters correspondent), a weekly which unrelentingly fights against hardliners. In the course of a few days we gained a name as a courageous reformist paper. Gentlemen! Don't turn such somersaults. It is an embarrassment.

With amusement we also read the reviews of the last issue of POLITYKA written by several correspondents of the Western press residing in Warsaw. The main idea of these reviews is that texts appeared in POLITYKA--impressive texts, wrote one journalist--saying that the government fully supports its line. Of course, we can only be satisfied if our publications are accepted by the government, but it is known that this is not always the case. This is understood. In this case, however, there is another point. For example, the publication of excerpts from speeches by Gen W Jaruzelski concerning national understanding, which according to a Reuters correspondent, "in the opinion of the specialists would not have been possible without the knowledge and approval of the general," was considered as evidence of support.

It is interesting that the correspondent's sources (specialists! names, please) did not give him the same advice when in the past we published various excerpts from the general's speeches. We think that it would be worthwhile to introduce the Reuters correspondent to the editorial kitchen. It is a fact that we published with full awareness the quotes from the speeches of the CC secretary and head of the government. First of all, these quotes were to make up the so-called PRON column. At the top was the commentary on the topic of the PRON congress, at the bottom were the quotes mentioned above. Secondly, we acknowledged that the moment that certain persons (among others, Lech Walesa) suddenly began to present themselves as advocates of national understanding, there was a purpose in the reminder of who really from the beginning, and single-mindedly, aimed at understanding. And finally, the matter of permission. Although willingly and with respect we always listen to the opinions of Gen W Jaruzelski about our publications, we have not yet requested his permission to publish quotes excerpted from his public speeches. This simply is not a custom in the Polish press. The Reuters correspondent must have dreamed up "permission" because otherwise his whole composition would be useless.

Another object of manipulation was the interview of Vice-Premier M F Rakowski. Some Western journalists considered it further evidence that the government supported POLITYKA in this interview. L'UNITA's correspondent went even further. He considered the interview to be an "indirect" answer to A Ryzhov's article. We wish to note that Prof Ryzhov has granted interviews to various Polish newspapers and nothing particular has resulted from this. We must again invite the sensation-seekers to the editorial kitchen. The interview with the vice-premier was already planned 3 weeks ago. The delay resulted from causes unrelated to the staff. Our interviewer worked on it for at least 10 days.

Another victim of speculation was director of the Center for Study of Public Opinion, Col Kwiatowski. His interview was also treated as a special boost, an expression of support for POLITYKA at this time. This is pure bunk. I wonder what the sensation-seekers would have written if the above-mentioned articles had not been in this issue of POLITYKA, which excited them so.

J. Urban's political column was also treated in a specific way. In it the author exemplified first of all the thesis of the progressing stabilization of the political situation in our country, devoting much space to opposing elements. In his opinion, the opposition more and more is losing the opportunity of affecting the development of events. The author devoted 265 lines of his column to thoughts on these topics though in one paragraph (19 lines) he mentioned the "rah-rah boys" and "procedure maniacs". Everyone who somewhat carefully studies the Polish press knows that such attitudes are encountered. And there is nothing sensational in this for the Polish reader.

The thing is presented differently in the work of some correspondents of the Western press. The essence of J. Urban's column was almost or completely bypassed and an "attack on the hardliners" was moved to the forefront. Not accidentally, because in anticommunist centers, informing the world public opinion of supposedly deep divisions existing in the party is continually sought. Stubbornly, the active element of the party is presented as divided into liberals and hardliners, one group as beset by the other, one moving in one direction, the other in another. It is a sure thing that the point here is dissension among party ranks, the retraction of remarks on important matters. The point is that Poland "Not be able to get itself together," that it continually give the impression that it is consumed by conflict. And all this because the extremists of Solidarity and the anticommunist opposition were not allowed to push our country toward the brink with impunity.

We have described to the readers the speculation and manipulation which POLITYKA has been subjected to in the past 2 weeks. We have done this not with the hope that the Western mass media will cease to announce sensational information and will begin to broadcast honest news about Poland. We are not counting on that. We believe, however, that the readers of POLITYKA will see in the exploits of the majority of Western mass media the next stage of anti-Polish activities measured at internal peace and social consolidation around the party line.

Soviet KOMMUNIST Article

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 22, 28 May 83 p 3

[Text] For at least 2 months, Poland has been the object of particular interest to the Western mass media. We also observe a clear increase in the militancy and aggressiveness of enemy radio stations--Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, the French RFI and others. Reports and commentaries concerning our country are full of the most excessive hypotheses, baseless assumptions, and regular stupidities and lies. An unimportant event, an article published in some weekly or daily, a statement by X or Y expands to an event of significance, behind which may be concealed some great forces, etc. The aforementioned radio stations jam all this into the heads of Poles, who think that it is taken from credible sources.

Let's take, for example, the upcoming visit of the pope, for which preparations are in full swing. Cooperation of interested parties--the state, episcopate, and the Vatican, is progressing satisfactorily without discord. For Western

propaganda, this is not, however, a matter worthy of note. Conflicts are necessary. Vaguely defined groups in the bureaucratic apparatus have been invented which supposedly are against the visit. What's more, for the past several weeks, the existence of conflict in relations between the state and church is being proclaimed. Who knows whether the visit will take place? One could have to question, of course, the facts which testify to the above-mentioned tensions. Getting these facts in order is difficult. For example, some publication in which the author made critical remarks about Vatican politics may be treated as a sign of the development of a crisis situation in the relations between the state and the church. If such an article appears, a whole orchestra of correspondents of the Western press bedevils it for several days. But when, in RZECZPOSPOLITA, a government newspaper, an article appears on the subject of the stance of the Vatican toward disarmament in which we read that "the position of the Vatican and of our state in matters of peace and methods of protecting it is, in its basic scope, identical or very similar," the seekers of conflicts and crises are indifferent to it. They are indifferent because after all their concepts irk them. Maybe it is good that they fail to notice it because they could compare it with some other idea and consider it as evidence for the existence among communists of divergent opinions on the subject of the pope's visit. It is necessary to add that all these denials make no sense. In general, attention is not paid to them and if so then at once a question is raised--what can this denial mean? Certainly something is behind this.

Also, the upcoming plenum of the Central Committee PZPR caused a wave of simply fantastic commentaries on the party situation. From them it appeared that the party is one big arena in which a fierce battle is being waged between the hardliners and the reformists. The planum was put off because...here too a wave of unjustified assumptions and vague suggestions occurred, quoting a "well-informed source," etc. Some facts, unrelated to each other, taken from various areas, are stuck together without order or composition and all this is to sow confusion in the heads of Poles and in world public opinion. The kick the authors of these absurd reports are on is schemes about the supposed divisions in party administration. A division along what lines? One group supposedly is for a soft course, another for a hard line, etc. One time one is in danger, another time the other is. It is an endless circle, because after all the point is to broadcast in Poland and to the world the opinion that we are a country in which one conflict occurs after another. Recently, to the internal conflicts was added an external one. We have already written about the fact that the Ryzhov article and our development of this article was mistreated. On our commentary entitled "Sensationalists and Manipulators," Jan Repa, employee of the Polish section of BBC, commented that POLITYKA said "this whole controversy was the invention of Western mass media" which we simply did not write. We did state, however, that Western mass media gave this matter the importance of a great ideological battle between Moscow and Warsaw.

In the last days a new tidbit has been set upon. KOMMUNIST, the magazine of the CC CPSU, published broad portions of Jerzy Kraszewski's article entitled "In the Shadow of Great Manipulations," which appeared in the February issue of NOWE DROGI [NEW WAYS].

J Kraszewski's article concentrates above all on the antisocialist trends which appeared in our political life after August 1980. The author also devoted much attention to the current threats on the part of the rightist and counter-revolutionary forces, and expressed the view that they are still alive and that "the belief in the possibility of quick successes" (in fighting them) would be dangerous. We will not summarize the views of the author, because one can become acquainted with them by taking in hand the mentioned article from NOWE DROGI, but let's look at the dance which started around an article in the Western mass media. As if on command, it acknowledged that this is an event of great significance. Such an important press agency as Reuter reported from Moscow, "the Kremlin today made it clear that it is deeply disturbed by the situation in Poland, publishing an article which warns that the country continues to be faced with a counterrevolutionary threat," after which with all seriousness it quotes fragments of the J Kraszewski article such as "antisocialist opposition in Poland is not a myth...." "The Warsaw correspondent of LE MONDE, Bernard Guetta, came to the conclusion that KOMMUNIST is warning the PZPR against any compromise which would gain for it favorable public opinion at the cost of the faithfulness to Marxist-Leninist principles. The French radio RFI, being under the influence of raving emigrants from the former Solidarity union, stated that quoting a text originating from NOWE DROGI, an organ of the CC PZPR is to "surely call attention to the fact that in the bosom of the Polish party itself there is no lack of critics of a policy heading in their opinion towards excessive compromise." If behind this type of commentary a certain concept was not hidden, it could just be shrugged off, because after all the evaluations of the situation contained in the publication of J Kraszewski are repeated in very many articles published in the front pages of the Polish press. This, on the other hand, is based on the evaluations which are contained in the resolutions of the Central Committee. Specialists in inventing conflicts should study carefully, for instance, the resolution of the Seventh Plenum CC. Since, however, what J Kraszewski wrote is the daily fare of party journalism, why does a fair number of bourgeois journalists get excited by a reprint in KOMMUNIST? The answer does not require particular intellectual effort. The thing is that anticommunist strategists sitting in Washington and other places need a Poland in which one conflict follows another. In creating conflicts, external ones also, if there is an opportunity, they want to counteract the broadening world opinion that Polish internal relations are normalizing and stabilizing. Poland should become an unpeaceful country. And that is why we too must not be surprised if in the coming weeks also Western propaganda finds newer tensions and conflicts.

9915

CSO: 2600/885

BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS' JOB ASSESSMENT NOTED

Fewer Job Openings

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 14-15 May 83 pp 1, 2

/Article by PAP: "Job Vacancies Are Becoming Fewer and Fewer"/

/Text/ Although some plants are holding on to the necessary workers, often at any cost, the shortage of workers in many enterprises is the main and real barrier to the growth in production. Recent report results from April indicate that there is still a major shortage of working cadres: more than 273,000 job vacancies with only 6,000 people looking for work. However, the situation is not becoming worse, and this fact is certainly cause for satisfaction.

In recent years the number of job vacancies would usually increase during the spring months, until June or July. This was associated with the mobilization during the period of seasonal work (construction, agriculture, and the like) and as a result of intensive worker mobility. At the same time, however, the number of job offerings remains lower during this entire period compared to January's level. On the other hand, there were still 130 percent more job vacancies in January of this year compared to January of last year, and in April, only 18.8 percent more than a year ago. In the opinion of the labor ministry, this tendency should continue for several more weeks. This could result in 1983 being the first year since 1976 that the number of job offerings is lower than it was the preceeding year.

The stabilization of the job market can be an indication of a tendency toward employment efficiency. We should not forget that a new mechanism has been introduced which is supposed to encourage the enterprises; a change in the basis of debitting the Professional Activization Fund (not from the mean wage, but from the overall premium fund).

The number of those looking for work decreased by 10 percent in April in comparison to March and has reached the lowest level in 5 years. It is difficult to be surprised that the choice of job vacancies is so large. As can be seen in the directory of job offerings with lodgings, published by the Labor Ministry, those sought after are workers from 260 professions with education levels from elementary to college, wages offered range from 5,400 zlotys to 25,000 zlotys. Workers are most needed in the provinces of Katowice, Warsaw, Bielko and Krakow.

Very severe shortages of personnel are felt in construction, the Polish State Railroad, the metallurgical, light and, especially, the clothing industries. Above all, those being sought are blue-collar workers (87.7 percent).

A noteworthy fact in regard to the still fresh view of a threatening situation of unemployment is that unemployment benefits for those who are only partially employed were paid out recently to as many as 355 people.

Assessment of Worker Production, Salaries

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 16 May 83 pp 1, 2

/Article by PAP: "Fair Wages For a Fair Day's Work"/

/Text/ How Workers Evaluate the Introduction of Reform

Polish Press journalist conducted a poll in several dozen different type factories concerning the economic reform. Several hundred answers were collected from the workers; they evaluated the current course of implementing the economic reform and the effectiveness of the new economic mechanisms. Results of the answers obtained show that an absolute majority of those questioned are pinning their hopes on the economic reform and decisively declare themselves for the complete and consistent implementation of the reform principles adopted at the party's 9th Congress. This concerns wage issues as well.

One of the questions asked by PAP correspondents was: Are you for equal wages, or are you for the idea that workers who are more productive and distinguish themselves by their ingenuity and expertise, should earn considerably more than the average worker? Almost everyone asked opted for the latter; at the same time, there was no shortage of those who indicated the need to organize the wage system. This was the most typical answer: "Wages are that part of the reform, which currently appeals to every worker." This is what Kazimierz Wisniewski, a galvanizer from the Nitrites Factory in Wloclawek. In his opinion, the changes made in the wage system have already influenced the better utilization of work time, and an improvement in discipline and productivity. The so-called "specialist 14" affirmed: "The wage system was already different, significantly, depending on the quality of the work."

Jerzy Siegert from the Kedzierzyn Nitrites Factory also expressed himself in much the same way. "The general problem is, how do we get to a wage system which regards merit? It will not be easy to correct past mistakes. For a fair day's work, there should be a fair wage, but its growth should be tied to a growth in profits. Its growth should not be collected from people once they have earned it."

Then there was the opinion of Andrzej Buczynski from the Foton Photochemical Plant in Bydgoszcz: "Wage equality would be an outright threat to the reform." He believes that current wage motions are still insignificant, even though they embrace all, or nearly all, workers.

Stanislawa Swiderska, a spinner at the First of May Cotton Mill in Lodz, stated: "A consistent implementation of the reform's provisions has to bring about the anticipated results. People should be rewarded for good work." She went on to say: "I have spent many years working directly at my machine and I know well that plant workers generally know themselves who has worked well and who should receive higher wages. The reform should allow for people to earn more if they work harder." Finally, a typical opinion from Andrzej Moskalczyk of the Household Glass Works in Tarnow: "People should know exactly for what they are being paid. Their wages can and should be made public, even if only illustrated on boards. It would then be known that he who worked better, was paid more. Wages need to be a measurement of real work and, at the same time, provide motivation."

Many workers also made critical comments. Most often, they referred to the insufficient effectiveness of the incentive systems. The point was made that there are still cases where a young worker, who had just completed school, can earn as much as an expert with 30 years of experience. People should be paid for their work and not for just coming to work. In differentiating wages, it will be necessary to equalize all social allowances used up until now.

Kazimierz Swowinski, a builder at the Agromet-Warfama Warminski Agricultural Machinery Factory, then stated: "An initial analysis of wages proves that they are not favorable for engineer-technical workers. A worker directly tied to production earns 1,000 zlotys more than a designer. A reduction in processing costs does not have an impact on the designer's wages. All he has is moral satisfaction."

Critical considerations also referred to the methods of calculating production results. Tadeusz Widerski from Warfama put it this way: "The most important criteria applied in fixing wages should be an increase in production and a reduction in costs, inasmuch as the advantages therein must be expressly felt by the workforce." Currently, there are preferences for production growth, but this is based on several years of comparison. If there had been no decline in production on anyone's part when the reform was introduced, then the current growth rate would be insignificant and profits would be lower. This discourages equal and productive labor.

Finally Zbigniew Doros from the Odra Nowosol Factory made a last comment: "The wage system is incredibly complex; at the same time, the worker himself is supposed to reckon for himself what his effort and wage have been according to the principle: 'Today I did so much; therefore, I should get paid so much.'"

All of these proposals and opinions, especially the critical comments, need to be examined while preparing corrections to reform solutions. This may be possible, even if only during the Sejm's debate on the report of economic reform. It is also worth keeping in mind that in compliance with the resolutions adopted by the Council of Ministers before the end of June of this year, there is to be a review of all solutions and reform mechanisms. Based on the results of this review, the reform's solutions will be modified to bring about the anticipated results.

PROVINCIAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Veracity, Morality in Party Ethics

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 14-15 May 83 p 3

[Article by Malgorzata Szalinska, director of General Elementary School in Sedowice, Michalow Gmina [Parish], delegate to the 9th party congress, member of the executive board of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee: "Veracity and Morality" under the rubric "Party Ethics"]

[Text] It is said that Lenin's office was a continuous reception room. Persons from all walks of life came to it. Lenin himself recommended that the bonds between the party and society be practiced through frequent direct contact with the masses.

Today, too, it is a fundamental issue to the party to maintain direct ties with the workingman, who owing to his common sense and without philosophical reflections, quite often knows what is just and what is wrong, what is seemly and what is not seemly for a party member.

We say "working people," but how many are there among them who can make fair judgments in the awareness of party honesty and dignity? How many others are there, on the other hand, to whom the dividing line between good and evil has become obliterated and whose socialist ideals have become distorted? It is difficult to be surprised at them. They were exposed to a severe ordeal. Bitterness and disappointment were not alien to them. Importuning loudspeakers and loud sloganeering have done their work, and the conflicts in views and outlook that continually arise among Poles, and that are particularly apparent in the countryside, have become a burden difficult to avoid. In those who have remained in the party this burden has produced major changes. It is not easy for them to believe in moral action.

How difficult it is for, e.g. a farmer to understand socialist justice when day after day he observes activities of gmina cliques that have nothing in common with either socialist or any other justice.

The articles on "Party Ethics" by editor B. Morawski and the interesting responses of party members to this topic reflect a profound concern for retaining and consolidating the party conscience of individuals who treat others correctly and base their actions on just principles.

A pure and healthy party morality can be mentioned once the external and internal dangers to the party disappear. The external dangers are those relating to our crisis reality, while the internal dangers depend on us ourselves. Above all, there can be no room within the party for those who prefer not to offend anyone,

"to avoid repercussions," but untiringly pursue their own selfish interests alone. A bad example is the source of much evil. Such an example, when rapidly noticed and pointed out, unfortunately becomes a censure to many honest comrades, because they are accused of undermining the authority of the entire party. It is a pity that such instances still occur.

The purge of party ranks initiated by the 9th Congress should consistently lead to eradicating evil. A highly effective—though bitter—medicine is criticism and the learning of ability of self-criticism. And although we sometimes do not lack criticism, it is more difficult for us to cope with self-criticism. We do not like to admit mistakes. No one likes to do so. And yet it is necessary to restore within the party the style of life and work relating to considerable self-discipline and self-criticism.

We should learn these abilities, and that not only at school, although it is precisely then, at the rudimentary stage, that the natural proneness of youth to criticize should be utilized to a greater extent in the educational process. Our party learning also means interinfluencing with our surroundings. It also means sharing of abilities and knowledge and utilizing the occasionally simple real-life approach of working people to large number of extremely complex problems. Mutual respect and humane solution of these problems at party organizations as well as the striving for similar humane treatment by others provide the best road for convincing society not only of the existence of party morality but also of the party's purpose of serving the good of society.

In 1981 the party was repeatedly accused of lack of credibility, and we ourselves in the heat of the pre-congress discussion—and following the 9th Congress as well—looked for arguments in favor of our credibility. For one is credible if he is believed. By contrast, all those who let others down, who did not keep their word, who lied, are not believed. For this very reason, credibility should be of the highest importance to party morality. I am not exaggerating when I equate credibility with morality.

It manifests itself chiefly in the functioning of truth. It should be always borne in mind that truth always is subjective, always dependent on the point of view, and therefore relative. But along with that truth we also are dealing with veracity as a particular form of truth. For veracity means /consonance between words and inner convictions/. **[printed in boldface]** It consists in honest presentation and justification of one's own views by these convictions and in taking an explicit position on this basis.

Every party member can become through his veracity a bearer of the truth about the party program and make credible its aims and tasks. Veracity not only reflects one's own morality but also strengthens the moral value of all that composes the party's policy in theory and practice.

Torun Province Executive Board

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 16 May 83 p 3

[Article by Teresa Slocinska: "Circuit Sessions of the Executive Board" under the rubric "At Party Organizations"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] The Executive Board [EB] of the Torun Province PZPR Committee regularly holds circuit sessions within the province. These so-called field trip sessions are held chiefly wherever, most broadly speaking, local party activists need an impetus for further activism, but also wherever the solution of certain social or economic questions requires intervention by party authorities.

The materials then used by the EB are based on special assessments of party performance in the areas visited and comments on meetings held between EB members, on the day of their arrival, and the representatives of local workforces. The whole of these materials and their verification reveal the socio-political situation in a community and, in this context, the strong and weak sides of the party's influence. The recommendations made by the EB of the Province Committee [PC] following each such field trip indicate where the party's efforts should be concentrated. What effects are produced by this form of the work of the province echelon?

The EB PC was prompted to travel to Kowalewo by the situation of the local city-gmina party organization, which had been seriously weakened during the 1980-1981 period owing to, among other things, the aggressiveness of the Rural Solidarity in that region (from whence came its province leadership) during those years. The recommendations of the EB reduced to one thing: the party must rebuild its influence within the community.

Adam Arbart, first secretary of the City-Gmina PZPR Committee, said: /"On the basis of these directives we drafted a special program of action, placing emphasis on the work of party members in public organizations and primarily in all self-government bodies. We evaluated the performance of party-member councilmen, which resulted in replacement of the chairman and the deputy chairman--which should help. The party members on the council meet to analyze the agenda for the sessions. We are preparing individual tasks for them. Party members also began to become visible in cooperative self-governments."/

Another effective means of quickening the activities of party members in Kowalewo was the contacts with the allied political parties and particularly with the United Peasant Party [ZSL] which in this community is a strong and socially influential partner. For the time being, cooperation is improving at the inter-committee "level." But as for joint meetings of basic party organizations [POP] and ZSL circles, they are not held frequently, but since some are held, the atmosphere at these meetings is usually more heated than at intra-PZPR party meetings, the criticism is more vigorous and the proposals are more practical--thus organizing such joint meetings is worthwhile. The city-gmina party echelon is attempting to improve its work with the aktiv by dispatching its own executive board on field trips in emulation of the PC, to hold sessions at individual POPs. The party cells at schools have been revived, with the help of Regional Party Work Centers [ROPP] which helped in organizing study exercises for teachers of civics and history. Following the recommendations of the EB PC, the Kowalew party organization is making progress, with the exception of one sphere of action--cooperation with youth.

Comrade Abart admits: /"Of the seven ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] circles, only one is active, in Pluskoweszy, where ZSMP members help convert a warehouse to a youth clubhouse. ZSMP members acquitted themselves very well after martial law was declared. For example, they organized a drive for helping older farmers. Unfortunately, the man who knew how to make youth follow him, the former chairman of the City-Gmina Board, has left our region. We must help the

ZSMP find its own niche in the life of the region. Recently we took steps to bring us closer to this goal."/

Tighten the bonds between the party and youth, strengthen the numerically small plant party organizations and expand groups of worker aktiv—such were the most important recommendations of the EB PC following its visit to Nowe Miasto Lubawskie a year ago. As in Kowalewo, the first recommendation proved the most difficult.

Krystian Michalski, first secretary of the City-Gmina PZPR Committee expressed his opinion: /"I would hazard the statement that we have succeeded with school youth. Through the mediation of our aktiv, and primarily of activists from the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBoWiD], we reached schools about problems of ideological and patriotic education, which has resulted in greater participation of youth in the preparations for various ceremonies. This may be exemplified by the truly beautiful program demonstrated at the First-of-May festivities by the Ensemble from Supraelementary Schools. The activities of the ZSMP at plants are still in a rudimentary stage. I'll not conceal that this is happening chiefly at the plants where many young people used to belong to Solidarity. It is significant that the best-situated ZSMP circles are those whose members participate in building patronage housing. It can thus be concluded that youth could be attracted to ZSMP by a concrete program of action. Here a great deal depends on the leadership of the ZSMP in our city, which however has been constantly shifting for a long time despite our efforts. I think that this is precisely where we should provide assistance."/

Much has—apparently—been done by the Nowe Miasto party echelon to strengthen the weaker POPs owing to, among other things, the personal concern shown by members of the local executive board and committee of the party for the wellbeing of individual party elements—a wellbeing on which they regularly submit reports. Wherever possible, worker groups of party aktiv have been established at plants for the purpose of daily political work directly among the workforces. Party members now view more responsibly their role in public and self-government organizations, which themselves too have strengthened their cooperation with the party.

Generally, wherever the EB PC makes a field trip, party work begins to improve after a while, although some effects have to be longer worked and waited for.

One local activist declared: /"Such visits operate like a reflector: they illuminate and place in sharp contrast issues which sometimes have been overlooked owing to habit or routine. This concerns not only party activities but also the performance of the administration, which is briefed about recommendations ensuing from the talks between the EB and individuals during field trips."/

The other side, too, values this kind of party contacts. To the members of the province party echelon every such field trip offers an opportunity to penetrate into the life of the party and the community, something that cannot be replaced by any report or document.

Zamosc Party Member Activities

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 17 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (s-ow): "How to Strengthen the Activism of Party Members in People's Councils?" under the rubric "Zonal Conference in Zamosc"]

[Text] /(OWN INFORMATION.) Problems of the activity of PZPR members in people's councils were discussed yesterday in Zamosc by representatives of the 13 provinces of southeastern Poland. The meeting was attended by the chairmen of party-member groups in province people's councils and heads of political-organizational departments of the PZPR province committees. It was chaired by Leszek Jaszczewski, deputy director of the Organizational Department of the PZPR Central Committee./ [printed in boldface]

After Bronislaw Witkowski, secretary of the Zamosc Province PZPR Committee, described the socio-political situation in Zamosc Province and the activities of party-member councilmen in that province, a working exchange of views and experience in this respect was commenced. In the discussion it was stated that until a certain time the party had been absorbed in various important problems but at the same time the activities of people's councils and especially those of their members who also are party members, have fairly often escaped its notice. And yet, following a period of stagnation associated with the proclamation of martial law, the role and activities of the people's councils and their organs as well as of the councilmen themselves have grown markedly. But this does not mean that these activities need not be further quickened.

Among the numerous recommendations oriented in that direction and voiced during the discussion, mention should be made of the need to provide councilmen with current information for providing more substantiated political and economic arguments, so needed during meetings with voters. It should also be added that the frequency of such meetings is not yet adequate. As for the administration, it should attend more thoroughly and operatively to the public concerns voiced by the councilmen, especially those not requiring special financial outlays. For this builds up the councilman's authority while at the same time providing an incentive for action. In this connection, the need to keep the broad public informed about the activities of people's councils and their organs was pointed out.

Those taking the floor commented that the legislative work on the new decree on people's councils has been taking too long, and in addition they pointed to the need to develop platforms and principles for cooperation with the growing social movement—the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. The conference was a working one, and the recommendations made during it will be utilized in current party work.

Party Discussion on Economizing

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 17 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (1): "Discussion on Conservation Programs" under the rubric "At PZPR Organizations and Echelons"]

[Text] (OWN INFORMATION.) The economic reform at work establishments is beginning to function with increasing efficiency. But a fundamental change in the mentality of plant management and workforces is still needed. The conservation and anti-inflation programs have to accomplish a major task in this respect. Lively discussion on the strategy of action under new conditions currently continues among the workforces and party members.

At the MODENA Clothing Industry Works in Poznan, the stage of meetings at Branch Party Organizations [OOP] has ended. The solutions proposed at these meetings by the aktiv and the workforce are currently being studied by the management, which is preparing a draft operating program to promote conservation. The workforce will be consulted about that program once it is drafted. Thus will be prepared a conservation program mandatory to all employees. This will take place before the end of this May.

Yesterday open party meetings were begun at the PONAR-WIEPOFAMA Specialized Tools Factory to discuss conservation proposals and other production, organizational, etc. solutions.

At the machining department these topics were discussed on 16 May. The cycle of meetings and consultations will last until 25 May.

Yesterday, too, the plant management conferred with the party aktiv about specific tasks relating to the drafting and implementation of the conservation and anti-inflation program.

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CSO: 2600/916

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Torun Province Party Development

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 14 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Teresa Slocinska: "Who Is To Come to Whom?" under the rubric "At Party Organizations"]

[Text] Recently the executive board of the plant party committee at the MERINOTEX Torun Worsted Spinning Mill has been urgently attending to the implementation of last November's resolution of the plant conference. Thus, e.g. last December order and discipline had been discussed--with the participation of representatives of the management and heads of the Citizens' Militia Commissariat for the district in which MERINOTEX is located. Some complaints were made about premature departures from workstations, and hence a proposal was offered for restoring the light and sound system signaling the end of the work day. Also in December the executive board summed up the discussion at open party meetings dealing with the plant incentive system. The suggestions ensuing from that discussion resulted in, among other things, excluding seniority allowances from the across-the-board wage increase, introducing extra pay for the second and third work shifts, making bonuses for the auxiliary services contingent on the overall performance of the plant and establishing a contingency fund for the implementation of tasks particularly important to the enterprise.

In January the executive board examined the plant's situation from the standpoint of the corrected principles of the reform. The revisions--as was stated--turned out to be advantageous to MERINOTEX. It was gratifying to note that the revisions also allowed for the postulates of the plant conference, including those concerning the assurance of profits for the enterprise from price cuts for its products. The executive board also considered cadre policy. The plant party echelon has the obligation of the political vetting of candidates for supervisory posts involving direct contact with people and giving opinions concerning less important posts as well as the cadre reserve, and also recommending persons for managerial posts. The party at MERINOTEX thus is quite specific in stating its position on major affairs of the enterprise and nothing concerning the plant is foreign to it. But is this the voice of the entire party organization?

The resolutions of the plant reports conference obligate the plant party committee [KZ] to strengthen its bonds with rank-and-file party members. It reflects the criticism which the heads of the party organization had encountered during the conference because, in the opinion of the discussants, they have been acting in isolation from the party ranks.

Has the KZ drawn the proper conclusions from the above judgment? In attempting to answer this question it is worthwhile to consider a certain significant decision. The issue was raised by lack of agreement within the secretariat (two salaried and two volunteer secretaries) concerning the secretaries' attendance of branch party organization [OOP] meetings--should it remain compulsory, or should it be voluntary? So the KZ had decided to drop the compulsory requirement and make the participation of the secretaries in meetings of plant-department party cells contingent on invitations from the OOP and on the free time available. The decision was surprising, to say the least. To be sure, such a solution can also be accepted on assuming that secretaries are obligated by their feeling of duty to maintain contact with the OOPs as frequently as possible--had not it been for the comment I heard one of them make: "The road that leads from the Plant Party Committee is also the road that leads back to it." Such a comment places under a question mark the readiness to establish rapport with rank-and-file members. By contrast, there exists--as recorded in the program--readiness to strengthen cooperation between the KZ and executive board and the plant management.

Of course, personal contact between the leadership and the elements is not the only way of having the entire party organization participate in the drafting of party opinions and resolutions concerning plant life, but any weakness of such contact undoubtedly restricts that participation considerably. It is moreover a reflection of a certain mentality and style of action which was termed bureaucratic during the critical discussion preceding the 9th Congress. Its traces and consequences can also be identified in various spheres of party work at MERINOTEX--in the fact that training there began only as late as last January, that there is no liaison at all with the trade-union organization, and that there exists a disposition for selective transmission of intra-party information to the party grassroots, in fear that some of that information might "irritate" rank-and-file members. Actually, however, the fear should be that of irritating the authorities unless the dissemination of information is accompanied by political-explanatory work among people and in direct daily contact with them.

There exist many plant party echelons which perceive the deepest meaning of their activities to consist in facing the workforces, listening to their opinions and elucidating sensitive questions "while they are hot." The party is becoming imbued with the conviction that grassroots-oriented activism of all of its elements and members is the criterion of its strength, ability for political leadership and the social value of its community activities. Such activism will not be prompted by party echelons that maintain only formal, official relations with the grassroots membership. The KZ at MERINOTEX cannot count on it at present.

Task Implementation by Party Organizations

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 16 Mar 83 pp 1,4

[Article by Z.G.: "Concern for Consistent Implementation of Tasks" under the rubric "At Party Organizations"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] In party discussions much space at present is devoted to aspects of ideological struggle, the country's socio-political situation, the effectiveness

of new economic solutions, and international problems, particularly the revisionist tendencies in the FRG and the cold-war course of the United States Government. All these elements affect the public mood and influence our morale. They should not be underestimated in favor of focusing exclusively on intra-party issues. Thus it is good when the comrades perceive these relationships and do not disregard "big-time politics" in their activities.

But those basic activities still are dominated by troubles and difficulties. /The executive board of the Szprotawa city-gmina party committee evaluated the implementation of the recommendations of the military operational group by the state and economic administration./ Thirty-one pertinent recommendations on chiefly agriculture, the communal economy, trade, education and health service were specified by that group. Only 15 were fully implemented, with another 10 still being implemented. Three recommendations were deemed not feasible under the present conditions, and an additional three were forgotten by their addressess. The position of the party echelon in this respect is unambiguous: the military's recommendations are mainly intended to alleviate the living conditions of the population and must be fully implemented. Hence also it was decided to make plant and institutional managements accountable for their past and present activities in this respect and to hold talks with those responsible for protracted or improper implementation of the recommendations.

/A joint session of the executive board of the Wolsztyn City-Gmina PZPR Committee and the Wolsztyn City-Gmina ZSL [United Peasant Party] Committee examined the problems of agriculture. It was found that preparations for the spring season generally progress satisfactorily, but the shortage of spare parts for machinery and tractors elicits apprehensions. Critical comments were made regarding the AGROMA [expansion unknown, probably an agricultural machinery organization]. The local State Machinery Center [POM] has to acquire spare parts from the center in Gorzow owing to the existing regional administrative boundaries even though Leszno is closer and easier to reach, and moreover the POM provides its services to adjoining regions of the Poznan and Leszno provinces. It is thus time to alter rigid and cost-ineffective regulations.

/The executive board of the Gmina Committee in Lagow discussed, among other things, the settlement of grievances and suggestions submitted by local inhabitants to the committee and office./ The assessment was positive. Only one complaint could not be settled in time owing to its complexity. The board also considered a proposal for organizing the transportation of six children from Kosobudki to the school in Torzym, since at present they have to spend 12 hours daily away from home on travel on foot and by train. This difficult problem will be discussed with the authorities.

/The basic party organization on the Wegrzyska State Farm examined jointly with the worker self-government the farm's economic aspects and the implementation of the recommendations of the party reports campaign./ It was found that four of the five recommendations addressed to the gmina echelon have already been carried out. Such consistency in work should be maintained. In the opinion of those present, it appears necessary to introduce piecework wages for, among others, drivers and maintenance personnel in order to properly assess individual contributions of labor.

Sources of Party Power

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 18 Mar 83 pp 1,4

[Article by J. B.: "Boldness, Righteousness and Courage of Principle Are the Sources of the Party's Strength"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] At present a major direction of action of the Provincial Party Control Commission (WKKP) is concern for the representation and observance by party members of the norms and principles contained in the PZPR statute, for their active participation in implementing the program of the 9th Party Congress, the resolutions of the Central Committee and the Province Committee and the own resolutions of the WKKP. This work is closely coordinated with the activities of the Olsztyn province party echelon and, on a reciprocal basis, it is based on the cooperation between party echelons at all levels and party control commissions.

The issue of the moral attitude of the party member and the struggle for the purity of party ranks are not abstract concepts. At present, especially, in the new socio-political situation, violations of statutory principles, transgressions against the party's ideological and program principles, infringements of the PZPR Statute, breaches and violations of party discipline, suppression of criticism, abuses of power and rank, red tape, and the exploitation of the post held or function exercised for selfish material gain represent crimes that are particularly pregnant in consequences--they may harm the consolidation of trust in the party, undermine its credibility and weaken public trust in party card-bearing individuals.

Such phenomena complicate consolidation of the party and harm the supreme value represented by its leading role in society. Hence the Provincial Party Control Commission and the local party control commissions in Olsztyn Province pay special attention precisely to the issue of consolidation of the party. This is not an exclusively intra-party problem. The internal weaknesses of party organizations and passivity or reprehensible conduct of certain party members affect adversely the life and activism of the community as well as--in the broadest meaning of the word--its commitment to implementing the program for the socio-economic recovery of the province and country. /It is not accidental that one of WKKP documents stresses the importance of the recent review of all basic party organizations [POP]--of the manner in which they fulfill their statutory tasks--as well as of a thorough assessment of the attitudes of party members and candidate members (their efficacy in labor establishments and their own communities). For the strength and effectiveness of action of the party is decided by its moral and organizational unity./

The cohesiveness of party organizations is strengthened or weakened by numerous and varied factors which often cannot be generally defined because their causes and symptoms vary. Life is rich and its realities do not always fit within the framework of formulas. On the other hand, every negative instance, no matter how particular and specific, always is a yardstick of the justice and power of perception of the party's control organs. Hence the WKKP and its local

commissions conduct the further consolidation of the party and struggle for the righteousness, right ideology and moral purity of its members on several mutually complementary planes. They accomplish this through educational and preventive activities as well as in a radical form--by eliminating various sources of threats to the party and the communities in which the party is active. /At the same time, the party's control organs watch over the streamlining of the methods of work of party organizations so that these may take the proper position on crucial public issues, and so that their credibility and public trust in them would be strengthened./

This concerns not only ideological attitudes and political issues but also the functioning of the economy, the administration and public institutions as well as individuals to whom responsibility for these fields is entrusted. This results in often publicly known party verdicts pronounced against persons whose guilt is proved, whose attitude, views and activities conflict with party ethical norms and public interest. Party control commissions react to all negative phenomena mentioned in inspection reports by operational teams, the Inspectorate of Armed Forces, the organs of law enforcement, internal control elements, the press, and the recommendations made at meetings of POPs, grassroots party echelons, etc. Every case is comprehensively investigated and its wellsprings and attendant circumstances are analyzed --party recommendations concerning culprits represent not only punishment but also a form of eliminating socially negative phenomena. Fairly often, investigative proceedings do not prove the accusation and then the WKKP or its lower-level commissions restore the defendant's good name and post.

The Provincial Party Control Commission examines many complaints and suggestions which it either receives directly or are passed on to it by the Province PZPR Committee. This is all the more necessary considering that not all grassroots-level party echelons in the Olsztyn Province maintain party control commissions. The WKKP also receives appeals against decisions of local party control commissions (KKP) and grassroots-level echelons. Every case is investigated and verified. If an accusation is confirmed, if the attitude--whether moral-ideological or associated with the function exercised--of a party member is found to be indeed liable to criticism, the proper inferences, as specified in the statute, are drawn. Every verdict is pronounced with the greatest deliberation, on taking into account many circumstances and deeper motives. Hence, it sometimes happens that public opinion at first does not grasp the complexity of the factors considered by the verdict team. Sometimes a person subjected to occupational or professional disciplinary sanctions is not subjected to party sanctions. This may happen when a person holding, say, a managerial post makes certain decisions involving some professional risk which later turn out to be mistaken even if through no fault of his own. His intentions were the best and he did not violate moral or social norms. In such a case a party penalty would be unfair. But the converse also happens. Infractions are committed which, for one reason or another, are not legally punishable but their moral wellsprings and intention prove to be reprehensible and in such cases--although the law is neutral then--party proceedings are instituted.

The scope of action of party control commissions is extensive. /They also deal with such matters as monitoring the implementation of the resolutions of higher and own party echelons. What matters most, though, is their role in shaping right-minded and principled attitudes of party members and actions of the party--because therein inhere the party's strength and credibility and the possibility of promoting its consolidation./

In the past 2 years the party and its party control commissions have traveled a difficult path. This is mentioned in the activity report of the Olsztyn PZPR WKKP for the period from June 1981 to November 1982. The report recalls that in the period from the May 1981 reports-elections conference to 13 December 1981 this "stage of activity of the WKKP was particularly difficult: in an atmosphere of total criticism of PZPR members and especially of the leadership cadre, the work of the KKPs had required tremendous deliberation, perceptiveness and even psychical resistance to the pressures and demands, organized by ["anti-socialist"] extremists, for settling accounts at any price with the party members holding leadership posts."

During the period covered by the report 334 persons were expelled from the province party organization, most often for failure to implement party resolutions and recommendations and violation of party discipline. One hundred sixty two persons were expelled for a two-faced attitude and insincerity toward the party. Several score persons were subjected to other statutory penalties. The report states: "This huge disproportion in numbers between the expellees and those subjected to other penalties points to the underestimation of the party penalty as an educational technique. It also points to weak preventive-upbringing work within party organizations as well as, in many cases, to tolerance of negative attitudes over such a prolonged period of time that subsequently no other decision could be made than expulsion from the PZPR."

With time this situation has been steadily improving, which undoubtedly promotes the ideological-political and organizational consolidation of the party. The document states: "The investigations and talks conducted by the WKKP serve not only to energize the activities of party members and organizations and prompt them to adopt attitudes consonant with the PZPR Statute, but also to refine the preventive-educational work of the WKKP itself as well as of basic-level KKPs.... / The experiences of the past period have toughened those most devoted to the party and, what is most important, the numbers of new genuine party aktiv are growing. Of special value to the party is the political and social activation of many party organizations active in worker communities and their influence on other social and self-government organizations, the nascent trade unions, etc."

This does not mean that the activities of local KKPs do not prompt reservations. An assessment of the performance of these commissions by the WKKP states that, along with many positive elements in that performance, it also displays quite a few shortcomings. The most frequently repeated mistakes are insufficient documentation and excessively general formulation of accusations serving as the basis for the imposition of party penalties; failure to interview defendants prior to the session of the verdict team; pronouncement of verdicts in absentia; improper interpretation of the provisions of the PZPR Statute and the Regulations of the Central Party Control Commission governing the scope and nature of party penalties (e.g. the penalty of depriving the accused of an elected office); improper nature of party proceedings against members of party echelons; and occasional performance of duties belonging to party echelons themselves as regards their members.

/In this connection, the Presidium of the Olsztyn WKKP formulated detailed proposals for eliminating the shortcomings in the work of local party control commissions. The KKP's--such is their statutory task--guard the unity and purity and party ranks by not only meting out the penalties specified in the PZPR Statute but also educating party members, helping them with their personal problems, conflict situations and difficult ideological-political problems./ A recent plenary session of the Olsztyn PZPR WKKP evaluated the performance of the WKKP, stressing the effectiveness of its work, both practical and ideological, and pointing to the marked influence of the WKKP and local KKP's on the organizational and ideological strengthening of the party. At the same time, the plenum formulated recommendations for further improving that work.

At the January reports conference of the PZPR Province Committee comrade Mieczyslaw Kubicki, chairman of the WKKP, posed in his speech the question: /"Who is to build up the authority of the basic party organization? Who is to increase and strengthen its influence in the community? And finally who is to defend comrades fighting for just cause?"/

He further stated: "I believe that as long as not all party members are yet aware that they themselves are responsible for this situation, that it is they who--by their courage, honesty and principled attitude--determine the authority of the party and hence also of their own basic party organization, so long 'silent' meetings will continue and the party organization will indeed be unable to accomplish much..../ Our province party organization is recovering its strength and consolidating itself. This process may not be as rapid as we might wish, but it is a fact that a growing number of comrades become aware of the need for active work to promote the party's strength and unity and realize that the party is the key to a rapid emergence from the economic and political crisis.

"Speaking of the party's unity, of its consolidation, I wish to emphasize strongly, comrades, that party control commissions will ruthlessly combat anything that prevents unity and is divisive to the party from within. We shall be consistent and severe toward any factional trends. The statute and program of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress should be the basis for action to all party members."

The plan of activities of the Olsztyn Province Party Control Commission provides for focusing attention in the first half of this year on these principal directions:

/--strengthening the party's authority in work establishments and communities; furthering the work to promote committed attitudes by party members; watching over the correct development of the party;/

/--improving preventive-educational work at all elements of the province party organization and securing greater assistance of the KKP's in this respect to party organizations;/

/--counteracting any manifestation of poor management, abuses, wheeling and dealing, waste, incompetence, bureaucratic methods of work;/

/--principled response to any action that is particularist and inconsonant with the premises of the economic reform, and particularly to coining profits through various price manipulations as well as to any other occurrence that hampers surmounting the country's economic crisis; party members who engage in such practices or tolerate them are liable to severe party penalties;/

/--watching over the correct settlement of complaints and suggestions of citizens by the organs of state and economic administration, and refining party work related to the examination of complaints and suggestions made by working people;/

/--further strengthening of cooperation with party echelons regarding cadre policies;/

/--the creation of a climate favorable to constructive criticism at party meetings and correct response to criticism by the party and in the mass media on the part of responsible persons./

Development of Workers' Culture

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 22 Mar 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Z. Beryt: "Party Task: Concern for the Development of Workers' Culture"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /(OWN INFORMATION) The topic of yesterday's joint plenum of the Poznan-Jezyna City-District Committee and the Plant Committee at the PONAR-WIEPOFAMA Specialized Tools Factory (FOS) was the tasks of the party organizations in shaping worker culture./ The importance attached by the authorities to this issue may be demonstrated by the fact that the deliberations, to which our city's cultural activists were invited, were also attended by Waldemar Swirgon, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Kazimierz Zygulski, minister of culture and art. The Poznan authorities were represented by Maciej Olejniczak, secretary of the Poznan Province PZPR Committee, and deputy governor Romuald Zysnarski.

Ryszard Tomaszewski, secretary of the Jezyce City-District Committee, made the following reminder in opening the discussion: "Culture is a way, and also the content, of the life of the nation.." Next, he pointed to the situation of culture, complicated by the crisis and the introduction of the economic reform--at a time when it was precisely culture that became an arena of acute tension. What is worse--as the speaker pointed out--the voice of the intellectual left was feeble and party artists were insufficiently bold. Such a situation requires a regrouping of forces and the formulation of new premises and a new strategy.

During a discussion lasting several hours, 16 plenum participants took the floor. This was at times a heated exchange of opinions on such topics as the worker culture as a whole, the artistic creativity of workers, the economization of culture, and the lack of familiarity with the cultural needs of the broad masses. An intriguing comment was made by a worker from WIEPOFAMA who recalled the good tradition of cultural activities at his plant. Specific proposals were made for, e.g. publishing books in cheap editions on newsprint paper, resuming "worker premieres" at Poznan theatres and, above all, reaching to the old and good traditions of working-class Poznan.

The deliberations were summed up by minister Kazimierz Zygmunt. He stated that, among other things, "The socialist system of society has led to an incommensurate growth of the culture-creating role of the working class. First, the working class had to make up for the neglects in its education and then for the neglects in assimilating the canons of national culture and its most valuable works. Currently the principal task is, regardless of those mentioned above, providing workers with favorable conditions for their contribution to national culture by promoting their artistic creativity in all of its manifestations."

The turbulent period that we are living through and the premises of the reform result in that many just rights of workers cannot yet be practiced (books and entertainment are expensive, plant activities to promote worker culture are limited, etc.). But of a certainty the situation is gradually stabilizing; justified hopes can also be placed in the development of the new trade unions. The cadre of selfless, civic-minded cultural activists is growing.

Party in Government Administrations

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 23 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by (S): "The Party in the Office"]

[Text] That was already another meeting. The Executive Board of the PZPR committee at the Biala Podlaska Province Office met in the conference room of that Office with the secretaries of basic party organizations [POP] and chairmen of United Peasant Party [ZSL] circles active within gmina and city offices in Biala Podlaska Province. As Adam Olesinski, first secretary of the PZPR committee at the Province Office, declared: **/"The purpose of such meetings is to strengthen the importance of the POP at the office, exchange information about party and official happenings at the Province Office and at basic-level offices, and exchange experience."/** [printed in boldface]

The PZPR committee at the Province Office is not linked to POPs at local offices by any superior vs. subordinate relations. If it has assumed the role of the initiator and organizer of such meetings, it did so in order to implement the postulates reported by discrete POPs. The specific nature of action of party cells within the administration, the common nature of topics considered and at the same time the distinctness of the individual POP within a gmina or city organization have all prompted the party cells in the administration to need the support of the PZPR committee at the Province Office. And they do receive that support. The meetings organized usually are attended by the leadership of the Province PZPR Committee, and the aforementioned meeting, held on 10 [March 1983], was attended by the current Governor of Biala Podlaska Province, Stanislaw Rzepa. This provided an occasion for discussing not only affairs of the party or of the ZSL but also the principal problems of the activity of state administration, social services for administrative personnel, etc.

It must be admitted that in the not distant past the party had been relatively inactive within the administration. Those administrators who were party members

had been more interested in obtaining posts within party echelons than in organic work within the office POP. This had happened primarily in the city of Biala Podlaska, while in the outlying province party cells within the administration often existed on paper only. The situation changed radically following 1981, when the new PZPR committee began to be active at the Biala Podlaska Province Office. After more than a year of work of the new executive board of that committee it can be stated that nowadays party cells in the administration are strong and flexible and avail themselves fully of their statutory rights.

The party organization at the Province Office now has 109 or 169 [exact number illegible] members, that is, it accounts for 40 percent of the entire staff of that Office.

POPs are active in all 36 local province offices, and in 7 of these offices ZSL circles are active as well.

POP secretaries and ZSL circle chairmen came to Biala Podlaska in order to discuss social justice. They also brought along many proposals and postulates of the employees of individual offices, addressed to "the province powers that be." The course of the meeting was such that first the participants were briefed about the application of the decree on civil service personnel and the schedule for applying that decree in the offices of state administration in Biala Podlaska Province. Next, Maj Włodzimierz Wojcikowski from the Province [Military] Operational Group discussed counteracting the manifestations of social pathology and the role of the administration in enforcing the principles of social justice.

The discussion also focused on these two issues. The application of the decree on civil service personnel is of obvious interest to that personnel, particularly considering that that decree has scheduled another review and evaluation of their performance. In this connection it was often asked during the discussion what evaluation criteria will be applied during the coming review of administrative personnel. Comments on social justice were of interest. For example, Jan Koncerewicz proposed that, since the minimum rates for retirement pensions have been specified, the maximum rates should be established as well. Instances of the submission of applications for monthly retirement pensions of 50,000 zlotys and more to the ZUS [Social Security Administration] in Radzyn were cited. There arises the paradoxical situation that retirees will be paid more than working personnel.

In that part of the discussion, too, the question was asked: what should be the criteria for evaluation? How does it happen that state distinctions are awarded to persons who do not deserve them while other persons, such as teachers, after having done honest work all their life long, are pensioned off without any honors? Examples of the still continuing game of musical chairs played in pursuit of promotions in gminas and small towns were cited, as were facts of the exercise of supervisory functions by individuals who had compromised themselves at their previous place of employment, etc.

Much of the discussion also dealt with the authority of the POP in a government office. This was mentioned by Province Governor St. Rapa, who stated that the heads of the Province Office attach great importance to cooperating with the

political organizations active in the administration. The head of a city or gmina should be aware of and appreciate the POP or the ZSL circle active in his office, while at the same time the POP or ZSL circle should be more active in internal affairs of the office. What matters is not mutual clapping on the shoulder between the city or gmina chief and the POP or ZSL circle but joint work, common concern for the affairs of the office and its staff, the province governor declared. A shared goal also should be concern for elevating the culture of service provided to applicants in government offices. An applicant need not leave an office with his problem solved, but he must leave it in the conviction that the official has done everything to help him.

It was agreed that the next meeting would be held a quarterly period hence. This is to be a rule.

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PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

Kielce Province PRON Conference

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 16 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (jch), MH, BER: "Regional Conferences of PRON, Building the Front of National Unity"]

[Text] In the province of Kielce, regional conferences of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth continue. First experiences and results of the basic units of the movement are being summarized; the meetings are also filled with discussions of the draft of the ideological program declaration and statute foundations. Delegates to the First National Congress of PRON are being elected.

Kielce Province will be represented at the congress by 43 delegates and 5 members of the Provisional National Council [TRK] of PRON. At the regional conferences, 14 representatives of the Kielce area from a variety of social circles have been elected. Among them are people without party affiliations as well as members of PZPR and the political parties. For example, the following persons became delegates at the Busk conference: Czeslaw Baranski, nonparty member, chairman of the Disabled Veterans Union, and Marian Siwiec, a farmer, nonparty member, leader of the Parish Council of PRON in Pacanow, Karol Sekowski, retired teacher and a member of SD, will represent Miechow; Pinczow will be represented by Wlodzimierz Wolczyk, an agroengineer from the Agricultural Producer Cooperation [RSP] and a member of PZPR; Feliks Bielawski, chairman of the Las Cooperative, leader of the local administration of PRON and a member of SD, will represent Wloszczowa, while in Kazimierza Wielka a physician, Zygmunt Iwanski, member of the PZPR, was appointed as a delegate to the congress.

Regional conferences of PRON, as has already been announced, also took place in Skarzysk and Ostrowiec; yesterday, such conferences took place in Kielce, Starachowice and Staporkow.

Kielce. Unit representatives of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth from the Kielce area as well as the nearby parishes--Checiny, Sitkowka-Nowiny, Piekoszow, Strawczyn, Zagnansk, Daleszyce, Bieliny, Gorno, Morawica, Miedziana Gora and Maslow--gathered at the pregress regional conference of PRON.

On behalf of the Provisional Provincial Council of PRON, Jozef Kozlowski informed those gathered about the past activities of the organization and the most important tasks for the immediate future. The draft declaration of the movement as well as principles of its statute were presented by Tadeusz Hozer.

Those assembled expressed their reservations concerning some of the formulations in the presented drafts, specifically with regard to authority in the domain of social supervision. Involvement of diverse groups of society as well as various organizations and, most importantly, young people, in the activities of PRON and close cooperation with them were recognized as urgent necessities.

Two delegates, who will represent the region at the national congress of PRON, were elected from among the four candidates by an open vote. The delegates are: Halina Gracjalna, a physician, Health Protection Group [ZOZ] for Tuberculosis and Lung Disease, and Leopold Wojnakowski, an economist from Sitkowka-Nowiny.

In conclusion, a resolution was read in support of the initiative to build the Center of Health--Monument to the Polish Mother. A resolution was formulated, condemning revisionist pronouncements by West Berman politicians.

Starachowice. Several dozen delegates from the parishes Bodzentyn, Pawlow, Brody, Wachock and Mirzec took part in the conference of PRON; there were also delegates from the city.

After the chairman of the Provisional City Council [TRM] of PRON Wlodzimierz Kabala greeted the delegates and guests, deputy chairman of the Provisional Provincial Council [TRW] of PRON in Kielce Tadeusz Zawistowski presented goals and tasks of the movement, particularly emphasizing the necessity of social reconciliation and moral regeneration.

In the lively and frank discussion which lasted over 2 hours the following participated: Stanislaw Skorupa, Czeslaw Butralik, Jadwiga Swierczynska (from Starachowice), Zdzislaw Bunk, Feliks Galka (from Brody), Aurelia Osobinska, Wladyslaw Kaczmarzyk, Stanislaw Krogulec and Janina Latala from Bodzentyn, Andrzej Zabczyk from Mirzec and Tadeusz Kosior from Wachock. They spoke of problems which pervade all layers of society, particularly those of a social, economic, educational, moral, patriotic and cultural nature.

The following persons were elected as delegates to the congress of PRON: Bozena Skrzeczyna, a farmer from the parish of Bodzentyn, Lt Col Andrzej Antoniewicz of the Military Recruiting Station [WKU] in Starachowice and Tadeusz Kosior, director of the school in Parszow, the parish of Wachock. The fourth delegate is Tadeusz Podbilski, a truck factory (FSC) worker and member of the Provisional National Council of PRON.

The gathering approved the resolution condemning the cold-war and revanchist statements by West German politicians.

Precongress PRON Conference Debates

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 18 Mar 83 p 1, 2

[Article by: "Conferences Before the Congress of PRON, Citizens' Debate on the Future of the Region and Country"]

[Text] Successive town, town-parish and parish conferences of councils of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth are in progress. Their participants sum up past experiences and discuss the future of the movement as well as ways to achieve national agreement and to lift the country out of the crisis.

In the Tczew Parish--First Secretary of the PZPR Parish Committee Marian Szepetowski took part in the conference of the Provisional Parish Council of PRON in Tczew that was dedicated to reports and programs. Ryszard Dabrowski, a member of the Provisional Provincial Council of PRON, was also present.

Reports on past activities of social workers associated with the Provisional Parish Council of PRON that were presented by Renata Raczynska, deputy chairman of the Council, constituted the background of the discussion. Since last fall, PRON activists became deeply involved in the vital affairs of the parish community. The neediest persons were helped; problems of the houses for social assistance in Stanislaw and Damaszk were looked into; the Polish Motor Transport line on the Tczew--Malzewko route was put into service; and many other small yet troublesome matters were taken care of.

The discussion was specific and abounded in concrete proposals whose implementation would make parish residents' life easier and more pleasant. A great deal of time was dedicated to environmental protection, health services, as well as cultural development; this indicates that the PRON organization must play the role of coordinator consolidating village community around the most vital problems and matters.

During deliberations, the 40-member Parish Council of PRON was appointed. Ireneusz Wlochyn, deputy director of the Malinowo plant in Tczew, was elected chairman. Delegates to the regional and provincial conference of PRON were elected also.

In Hel--The town conference of PRON in Hel deliberated under the chairmanship of the Secretary of the Provisional Town Council of PRON Michal Pieszak.

The informational report on the draft declaration and statute principles of PRON was presented by Jerzy Grzegory, a member of the Provisional Town Council of PRON. During the lively and often controversial discussion, participants of the conference submitted a number of proposals and comments on the drafts of both documents. They will be sent to the Provincial Convention of PRON for consideration.

One member of the Provincial Council of PRON was elected at the conference. That mandate was entrusted by participants of the conference to Lucjan Blaszczyk, chief director of the Fishing and Fishermen's Services Koga Firm, who is a well-known community activist in Hel. Also elected were two delegates to the provincial convention of PRON, namely Teresa Czubinska, chairwoman of the Circle of Army Families, and Wladyslaw Michniewicz, chairman of the circle of the Union of the Emeriti, Pensioners and the Disabled.

In Prabuty--Also in Prabuty a plenary session of the Provisional Town-Parish Council [TMGR] of PRON took place. Deliberations were conducted by the chairman of the council, Jan Skierka. Six problem committees were appointed, namely construction, health, culture and sport, grievances and intervention, agriculture and equipment, trade and services. The elected chairmen became members of the 10-member presidium of the Provisional Town-Parish Council (TMGR) of PRON.

Eight delegates from the Prabuty area were elected to the provincial convention.

During the discussion several proposals were submitted concerning the project of the ideological program declaration of PRON. In deliberations of the plenum took part first secretary of the Town-Parish Committee of PZPR Adam Baginski and the head of the town and parish Waldemar Nogowski.

In Dziemiany--Ryszard Senger, first secretary of the Parish Committee [KG] of PZPR, took part in the conference of the Provisional Programs-Coordination Parish Council of PRON in Dziemiany. A resolution was adopted, defining PRON's tasks in the parish. The 12-member presidium of the Parish Council was elected. Kazimierz Bekisz, a young nonparty social activist, formerly chairman of the Provisional Parish Council of PRON, became chairman of the Council. Jan Rekowski, an activist from the Association of Fighters for Liberty and Democracy, was chosen as a member of the Provisional Council of PRON.

During the discussion, those assembled raised questions dealing with greater influence on young people in the parish, to win them over for propagation of the idea of national accord, as well as the matter of propagandistic influence in the parish community in order to involve parishioners as widely as possible in working for PRON and in economic matters. In the area of economic matters, parish chief Wladyslaw Czarnowski answered the questions of those gathered.

In Karsin--The parish conference of PRON took place in Karsin. The Parish Council [RG] of PRON was elected. Jerzy Zielinski, first secretary of the Parish Committee of PZPR, became its chairman.

The Parish Council Conference adopted a resolution which, among other things, fully recognized the project of the declaration of PRON as the guide to action for all Poles who hold the fate of the development of the socialist fatherland close to heart.

The parish conference of PRON called on representatives of community, youth and institutional organizations as well as village circles, and especially women and village administrative office councils to support activities of the Parish Council and to establish PRON structure in all villages and circles.

Zielona Gora PRON Conference

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 19-20 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by JAND: "Regional Conference in Zielona Gora"]

[Text] One hundred and nineteen delegates from various units of PRON and OKON of Zielona Gora and its environs took part in the regional conference of PRON, chaired by Michal Pepinski. Wojciech Judkowiak, chairman of the Provisional Provincial Council of PRON, Jerzy Dabrowski, first secretary of the Provincial Committee of PZPR, Czeslaw Slowek, president of the Provincial Committee of ZSL, province administrator Col Walerian Mikolajczyk, representatives of town authorities, PAX and ChSS, were also present.

The report was presented by Zygmunt Zadworny, chairman of the Provincial Town Council of PRON, who said, among other things:

We derive our immediate roots from the socialist renovation whose impulse was workers' protest against certain practices of implementation of socialism in Poland and not against socialism as such.

Citizens' Committees for National Salvation sprang up spontaneously as a social movement of support for the Provincial Movement of National Rebirth. They arose on the fundamental precondition of curbing the trends destructive and dangerous to our state and people, and, most importantly, of overcoming the social and political crisis by our own means on the basis of socialist principles.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth fulfills a social need and will to rebirth, to national accord and democratic renovation of the fatherland. As such, it creates an opportunity to act for all citizens who desire to perfect and strengthen a sovereign, independent and socialist Polish state within secure borders.

During the period of 1 1/2 years, in hamlets, places of labor, institutes and schools of Zielona Gora sprang up 14 units of PRON. Also active are six Citizens' Committees for National Salvation.

Our movement, said Zygmunt Zadworny, which includes representatives of a variety of social circles, professions and political organizations, is the natural representative of public opinion before the state authorities. At the same time we intend to clarify policies of the state to the community at large, while guarding the primacy of the common good against individual and special interests. PRON is a movement shaping itself in accordance with circumstances of the moment, and for this reason it has never been and never will be closed to new initiatives and ventures.

The following persons took part in the discussion: Prof Stanislaw Kolaczowski, representative of the Town Council of OKON; Walenty Drozdek, a teacher from the Group of Medical Schools; Danuta Utracik, a nurse from the Provincial Joint Hospital; Adam Ruszczynski, a teacher from the Provincial Center for Professional Growth; Jerzy Bak, a master craftsman from Falubaz; Lt Wlodzimierz Tietz of Czerwiensk; Wojciech Judkowiak, chairman of the

Provincial Council of PRON; Czeslaw Murlak, retired; Jadwiga Buczek of the Piastow Second Citizens' Committee for National Salvation; Zygmunt Kozlowski of the Hamlet Committee No 1; Julian Zmudzinski of OKON of Region No 5; Edward Sobanski, an instructor of the Polish Scouts' Association [ZHP], activist of the Piastow First Citizens' Committee for National Salvation; Romuald Leks, a retired person from Falubaz.

The following topics were discussed: town problems, activities of OKON during the most trying months, working with the youth. There was also a debate on the project of the declaration of PRON.

Five delegates to the Congress of PRON in Warsaw were elected. They are: Ryszard Wasilewski, Stanislaw Kolaczowski, Edward Sobanski, Grzegorz Gapinski, Wiktor Hodun.

In addition to the program document, those gathered adopted a resolution which reads as follows:

"We, the delegates of the Zielona Gora region of PRON gathered at the conference on 18 March 1983, express our profound indignation with regard to the intensified revisionistic pronouncements of certain politicians from the Federal Republic of Germany. As residents of the center of the Oder area, we categorically protest against the renewed claims on the ancient Polish lands along the Oder, Neisse and the Baltic.

"We call on all residents of Zielona Gora and its environs, on all Polish people, strongly to condemn the hostile pronouncements of West German politicians, aimed at the vital interests of our nation.

"Accord and consciencious, honest work leading to improvement of our life will be the best answer to the hostile intentions of turning back history and recapturing our Piastow lands."

Olsztyn PRON Congress Preparations

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 22 Mar 83 p 1,2

[Text] Discussions before the PRON congress continue. The meeting of chairmen of Provisional Provincial Councils of the movement for national rebirth, which took place on 21 March in Warsaw, was dedicated to evaluation of the course of the programs-elections campaign and to preparations for the PRON Congress. Conclusions drawn so far from the pre-congress campaign of the Provisional National Council of PRON Jerzy Ozdowski, who also conducted the proceedings.

As has been emphasized, the most important political and socioeconomic problems were touched upon during discussions at pregress gatherings and meetings. The project of the ideological declaration of PRON is said to provide a

good platform on which to build national unity; it is acceptable to the vast majority of social circles. In the opinion of the movement's activists, however, neither the project nor the proposed principles of the statute of PRON have been sufficiently publicized and popularized in society.

At the meetings organized on the initiative of local units of PRON much attention has been given to possible solutions of everyday problems haunting citizens and social circles, as well as to political stimulation of social forces to overcome difficulties. Specific achievements and results of the movement are also presented, especially those first to have come into being, namely the citizens' committees for national rebirth, as well as new initiatives. It is indicated that special attention and wider dissemination merits the practice of local PRON units' working out their own programs of action, which take into account interests and aspirations of all communities as well as methods of solving municipal and everyday questions.

The course of the programs campaign shows an increase of society's confidence in PRON and an increased social range of PRON's activities. Individuals and organizations one after the other declare their willingness to participate in undertakings initiated by PRON and to accept ideological assumptions of the movement and its directions for future activities. However, in the view of the participants of the meeting, there are still too few representatives of intelligentsia, creative and youth circles in PRON. Likewise, a widening and strengthening of PRON's activities in places of labor is essential. Little interest in problems of economic reform, shown by participants of the meetings organized by PRON, is also alarming.

The pre-congress campaign is now halfway through. Gatherings of local units of PRON are almost near the end, and shortly provincial conventions will begin which will elect most of the participants in the May congress.

A great deal of time in the discussion was occupied by problems of organization of the congress and problems of its very course. For example, principles of selection of members of the future national council of PRON stirred up controversy.

According to the proposal of the organizational committee, 200 members of this council must be elected at provincial conventions of PRON, around 80 appointed from among members of the organizations which joined the movement, while 120 would be elected at the congress. This proposal entails various implications, some of which are acceptable to the activists of the movement, whereas some are questioned. Everyone agrees, however, that representatives of all provinces, signatories of the 20 July 1982 declarations, as well as representatives of most social organizations which joined the movement, must be present in the future national council of PRON.

It further stated that the First National PRON Congress must be preceded by such preparations as to make sure that representatives of all provinces have an opportunity to express their views and that the congress proceed smoothly within the projected time limit, namely 7-9 May 1983.

Boy Scouts in PRON--The all-Polish meeting of instructors of the Polish Scouts' Association --activists of PRON, organized on 21 March in Warsaw, was dedicated to the role of the Polish boy scout movement in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

As Ryszard Wosinski, head of ZHP, said in his opening statement, the scouts have always been in the midst of events most important for Poland. For this reason, there have been many scout instructors and scouts from secondary schools among those who created the movement for rebirth. Today 2,700 instructors are active in the various rungs of PRON. ZHP sees its participation in PRON as fervent daily work for the benefit of children and young people.

Jan Dobaczynski, chairman of the Provisional National Council of PRON, who participated in the meeting, emphasized the fact that the movement for rebirth arose due to the necessity of finding social unity. PRON is an open movement which must bring together all those who are of the opinion that Poland must be defended. Everyone who wants to discuss ways of solving the present difficulties and answer society's needs is invited to participate in the discussion.

It was pointed out in the discussion that the rebirth movement cannot limit itself to merely accepting decisions of the authorities. It must express itself with regard to them with constructive criticism. ZHP expects from PRON, first and foremost, support in the implementation of educational functions of the association. The rebirth movement can be the social platform on which a genuine educational front of the young generation could be created.

Participants of the meeting issued an appeal to all scouts to actively join in the initiatives undertaken by PRON, availing themselves of the specific opportunities of the scout method of action.

Wroclaw PRON Program Discussions

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 22 Mar 83 p 6

[Article by (rk): "Before the PRON Congress. Discussion of the Program and Election of Delegates"]

[Text] Yesterday took place the first meetings of PRON activists, beginning in towns and parishes of Wroclaw Province as well as in the districts of Wroclaw, as a cycle of programs-elections conferences before the approaching congress of PRON which will be preceded by a provincial convention.

Prof Ryszard Badura, chairman of the Provisional Provincial Council of PRON, was present at the conference in Wolow. Participants of the proceedings discussed the declaration of the movement and emphasized the necessity of stating in it that units of PRON were born from the initiative of the residents of hamlets and villages forming citizens' Committees for National Salvation. Jan Kogut and Wlodzimierz Kutrowski were elected delegates to the congress.

In the conference in the district of Wroclaw-Srodmiescie took part, among others, Michal Los-Tynowski, member of the Provisional National Council of PRON. Those gathered recalled the most important voices in the national discussion before the congress. It was said, among other things, that no one should have any special powers by virtue of membership in the party or in the political parties. More than half of PRON members in Srodmiescie are not party members.

Various problems were brought up during the discussion, such as: are there categories of persons who should not belong to the movement; is PRON in danger of becoming just another bureau of complaints and grievances, and by what means should it help citizens? These questions were proposed to be answered at the congress. Also, 10 persons were elected to represent the Srodmiescie PRON at the provincial convention.

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PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Selection of Torun PRON Delegates

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 29 Mar 83 pp 1,2

[Article by T.W.]

[Text] The precongress campaign in the basic units of PRON is coming to a close in Torun Province. Yesterday, representatives of 20 organizational, factory and settlement units participated in a city conference of PRON in Torun. Participating also were representatives of the party and other political organizations: first secretary of the KM [City Committee] of the PZPR, Jozef Szymanski, chairman of the MK ZSL, Stanislaw Dunski, chairman of the MK SD, Henryk Marczak, chairman of the MRN [City People's Council], Felicja Pokorniecka, President Romuald Bester, and representatives of social and youth organizations.

The PRON movement, started in Torun in 1981, has already made notable progress. It forms a base of understanding within the community in its striving to strengthen the political and economic situation in the country. Activists within OKON effectively progressed toward resolving the most burning and disturbing social problems of the city's population. At their initiative the task was undertaken to continue the interrupted construction of the swimming pool. They promoted a resolution to change the plan of area management of Debowa Gora, a precinct heretofore most seriously neglected. The initiative was also taken in helping in the construction of shelters at Merinotex; measures were taken to care for the health and safety of residents in Rubinek; many activists of OKON and PRON actively participated in supervisory groups in the MRN.

The creation in October of last year of the Temporary Municipal Council of PRON in Torun, the convocation of the commission on problems, and the continuation of permanent duty officers contributed to the coordination of social aims and initiatives of regional units. A program was outlined of main directions and goals; pressure was placed primarily on the consolidation of the community, the rebuilding of the faith and confidence in the basic values of socialism, the development of ideas in thinking and acting with concerns of the state, the propagation among the residents of political and legal culture, and cooperation to guarantee effective and permanent transformation in the deepening of socialist democracy.

Expressions by many speakers confirmed the deep concern of a constantly greater segment of society for the improvement of the political and economic situation in the country. There was criticism in this area of attempts to warp the principles of the economic reform, a fault which rouses many reservations among workers in the work force; discussed also was the need to undertake a decisive struggle against negative social phenomena, waste, lack of concern and indifference toward vital human problems.

The need was pointed out also for support of self-government activities of residents and the development of social actions which can accomplish many necessary tasks in places of residence and production enterprises. For example, there was the action of a part of the work force in Merinotex which at the initiative of PRON activists carried out roadwork at the enterprise valued at 400,000 zlotys to permit the use of heavy equipment. A proposition was also introduced by PRON favoring single-family home construction with special emphasis on the needs of young people.

During the course of the congress seven delegates were elected to the National Congress of PRON. Mandates to represent Torun were given to: Ewa Grajkowska, vice-chairman of the MK SD; Wenecjusz Groszewski, a nonparty white-collar worker in Elana Synthetic Fibers Mill; Waldemar Jaroszewicz, representative of the City Section of Pax; Franciszek Kowal, secretary of MK ZSL; Dariusz Nowak, nonparty worker at Apator Pomeranian Electrical Equipment Works; Stanislaw Pawlowski, nonparty worker of PDP [Polish National Railway] and Stanislaw Wierzbicki, member of the PZPR, retired, chairman of the Temporary Municipal Council of PRON in Torun.

The participants also accepted a resolution including the observations and recommendations from the discussions. It will enhance the current program of activity of the Temporary City Council of PRON in Torun the realization of which should bring benefits to all residents of the city.

Delegate Views on PRON Congress

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 5 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Text] The program-elections campaign of PRON is coming to a close in our region. It will be climaxed in a few days by provincial congresses and conferences of PRON, but this does not mean this will be the end of public discussions on the future of the movement, its place in the contemporary socio-political realities of the country as well as the structure and form of its activities. In this discussion, the context of which is contained in the declarations and statutory foundations of PRON, a prominent position is played by the need to see the movement as a means toward a national understanding in the area of concrete activities and their effects and sensible and verifiable facts in specific factory environments. No words, even the most flowery, unite the people so much as mutual work and activity which leave permanent traces--that is to say the majority of the people who have found in PRON their activist place.

In our region, some delegates have already been elected as delegates to the National Congress of PRON. We have turned to a few of these for a statement on their impressions of the ongoing campaign in the entire movement and the most pressing tasks and problems which in the public discussion on its future have emerged prominently. These statements are printed below.

Marek Borejko--chairman of the City Administration of the ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union] in Rzeszow.

[Article by JAK]

I would like to see as rapid as possible conclusion of this process of creation of PRON and to see it then as a continuing open movement rather than as one formed within a rigid organizational framework. We must relate this to the participation of youth, a subject on which there is a whole series of controversial views and heated discussions leading often to demonization of this problem. This concerns me and I must say that the constant complaints about youth will not draw them into its activity. I would propose that we stop treating youth as a separate social category and furthermore to identify it with the periphery of our life--with drug abuse, alcoholism, stubborn shirking of work, etc. In the discussion of the structure of PRON we must become aware that the line of social division does not conform with any censure of age. We have one society and within it good and bad citizens and age here does not have any significance.

The young generation is distrustful and can only be convinced by concrete deeds and accomplished facts. ZSMP members, who today are active in PRON (they are there and the continued talk of their absence in this movement is a gross exaggeration) and they have come in contact with PRON and its concrete activities and results. Based on this example, our organization is trying to find its place in the movement for the cause of national agreement and goals that correspond to ours on many points. But PRON gives additional opportunities: because of it, some of our problems assume social stature and if PRON promotes them they achieve additional strength of conviction. Simply, the problem ceases to be one of "youth" when the need for its resolution is seen by a wide segment of society.

PRON now advises, gives opinions and intervenes. After the completion of the creation process of this movement there should quickly follow a precise normalization of its place in our sociopolitical life--it should be clear what are its rights and responsibilities in regard to organs of authority and state administration, the party and other political organizations, social organizations and associations. Here also is necessary the force of concrete results.

Eugeniusz Durda from Suchorzowa, laboratory assistant at KiZPS "Siarkopol" and farmer.

[Article by z.fl.]

I joined the movement of national salvation and later of rebirth in my family place of residence in Baranow Sandomierski Gmina [parish] at the end of January

and beginning of February last year. I recognized this as a great opportunity to correct many things in our environment which had gone badly for several years. Supported by the military regional operational group we developed activities which could be categorized as inspirational and supervisory, the latter being applied primarily in the area of commerce. What kind of results were achieved can be evaluated by the gmina residents themselves. I was later elected as a member of the PRON gmina council and most recently, during the regional congress of our movement in Tarnobrzeg, as a delegate to the PRON National Congress.

I see in our movement our own prescription for the healing of all spheres of social and economic life in the country. However, if this prescription is to be effective, it is necessary to consider certain minimum conditions. As a basic one, I consider it necessary to unite all people of good will, that is, those who have in their heart the prosperity of our fatherland. As a movement, which since its inception has been considered as a mass movement, we are open to all initiatives; we endeavor to create a platform of understanding and mutual action of people without regard to their party or organizational affiliation or avowed world outlook. We still are not too numerous. I believe, however, that according to the measure our movement will build its trust through concrete activities, the number of members and followers will also grow.

The next very basic condition for the success of our aims is and will be in the future the general acceptance among wide-ranging social groupings of the conviction that they have the real capability to participate in the common decision making in the affairs of their environment, that is, in the factory, village, gmina, town, province and finally the whole country.

I have also given consideration to the fact that the people united within PRON cannot limit themselves only to proclaiming recommendations, demands and tasks, but that they must also engage in the realization of activities and solutions long-awaited by the public. We must remember that the greatest eloquence is always in action. Always, and especially in today's difficult situation we should not judge people by what they say in discussions but by the social concreteness and applicability of their activity.

Some problems awaiting solution are particularly close to me. I work professionally as a laboratory assistant in the KiZPS [Sulfur Production Mines and Factories] but also I farm over four hectares of farmland and am the village chief in Suchorzowa. I observe with concern the destructive effects of the sulfur industry upon the natural environment of man in our region. Once in the vicinity of Machow there was the whisper of stands of grain, but now one sees more and more meadows and pasture lands. This undesirable tendency is the consequence of changes in water conditions and consequent degradation of soils. I think, then, that it is necessary, and I mean very necessary, to analyze methods to utilize the many financial resources which the sulfur industry contributes to the state treasury for the protection of the environment and the elimination of mining damages. Similar industry and agriculture related problems are constantly growing. All should be resolved in conformity with the interests of both these important spheres of our economy.

Julian Punicki, chairman of TRM PRON in Jaroslaw and vice-chairman ZW [Province Administration] of ZSMP in Przemysl and director of the boarding school at the Road and Geodetic Technical School.

[Article by m.n.]

We in our town wish to dedicate the time remaining to us before the PRON congress to strengthen already existing basic units as well as to bring organizational help to those environments where new units of our movement are being formed. Together with units of the PZPR, ZSL and SD as well as social organizations which have joined our movement we want to bring about a situation where citizens could see and feel that we are not standing in place and that we are continually forging ahead, and that rebirth is not just a slogan but a reality.

A portion of society actually looks upon PRON with distrust or relates to our actions with reservations, but nevertheless a constantly growing number of people are becoming convinced of the sense and the goals of our movement's activities. In order not to disappoint their expectations and hopes in PRON, its units must be equipped with an effective system of influencing the activity of state administration organs. We have already encountered, in the first phase of our endeavors, situations where our recommendations to the administration were often not handled on time or properly. Such a situation will not be tolerated by the presidium of our City Council which has at its disposal the rights guaranteed under the PRON declaration which it can utilize in cases of inactivity and lack of respect toward our deserving recommendations and demands.

About 100 teachers are active in PRON units in the Jaroslaw region. As their representative and delegate to the PRON congress, I cannot be silent concerning serious fears of this group as far as their fate in the next stage of implementation of the Teacher's Certification which was passed by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic last year. Will the guarantees of the Teacher Certification suffer in the light of indicated trends of savings and anti-inflation? If an occasion presents itself I would like to raise this question, among others, at the congress forum in Warsaw.

Zygmunt Rygiel--chairman of the PRON City Council in Krosno.

No great successes can be attributed to our currently organizing movement. In the first phase of its activities, which has had a sociopolitical character, we attempted to reach out to a variety of environments to clarify the goals and tasks of PRON and OKON units, to integrate the actions of the largest possible groupings of persons who accept the principles of the state structure, to gradually stabilize the sociopolitical and economic situation and to counteract the effects of the crisis. Have we been successful? I think we have, since during the numerous contacts, meetings, conferences and congresses preceding our first provincial congress and the National Congress, over 1,200 members were present while the number of basic cells and units increased in Krosno from 16 to 32. A very positive phenomenon is the fact that among almost 1,800 civic leaders as much as 33 percent are workers in Krosno factories and enterprises. We have received positive support from them.

In the line of constructive and not emotional activities we are trying to remain close to the working people, to live with their problems, troubles and sorrows, but still we do not intend to become just one more institution for the resolution of difficult social affairs. That is why the PRON City Council is the initiator of constructive intervention for the repair of the boarding school of the Vocational School Complex. A contractor and necessary funds have already been found. We have also approached the directorate and students of the Wladyslaw Gomulka Elementary School in Krosno for care of the greenery at a large neighboring housing settlement. We are also supporting demands of Polanka residents for expansion of the construction area and completion of existing construction. Finally, our members are taking an active part in public supervision in the settlements and the whole town. We have great plans of accomplishment after the debates at the provincial congress and the National Congress.

Walbrzych Province PRON Congress

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 6 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by d.t.]

[Text] Yesterday, with the participation of 240 delegates selected at meetings in basic units and regional conferences, delegates from sociopolitical organizations attending the 20 July 1982 meeting and members of the provincial council, the first provincial congress of PRON in Walbrzych was held. Among the invited guests was the vice-marshal of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic and member of the presidium of the TRK PRON, Prof Zbigniew Gertych. The meeting was opened by the chairman of the PRON Provincial Council, Col Magister Mieczyslaw Maslak underlining that this movement prerepresents the social response to the need of a national understanding and a democratic restoration of the republic.

Speaking in the discussion, the first secretary of the KW of the PZPR Jozef Nowak emphasized that history would recognize the merit of PRON since its aim is the reconstruction of a socialist, law-abiding Poland under its actual political conditions. In the concluding remarks the vice-marshal of the Sejm, Zbigniew Gertych, noted that the PRON congress as well as the preceding campaign and the undertaken initiatives are an expression of the aspirations toward a partnership dialogue with the authorities in the mutual action of moral renewal and economic reconstruction of the country. Deputy Gertych also presented information on the current lawmaking progress of the Sejm.

At the conclusion of the congress a resolution was adopted on the further development of PRON in Walbrzych Province. The ways and means of realization of proposed recommendations will be formulated by the Presidium of the PRON Province Council.

Warsaw Province PRON Comments

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 6 Apr 83 p 7

[Text] The Commission for Social Justice has been functioning since January within the framework of the TRW of PRON. We are now discussing its functioning

with its chairman Stanislaw Korczak, who also is secretary of the Capital Committee of the Democratic Party and vice-chairman of TRW PRON.

[Question] The Commission for Social Justice is a title that sounds both ominous as well as promising. Where and in what manner do you plan to investigate this justice?

[Answer] Perhaps a matter from just a few days ago. A delegation of Warsaw residents approached us complaining of poor supplies to some Warsaw suburban areas. Where there are some produce markets such as Peasant Self-Help, Spolem and SPHW [Cooperative Domestic Trade Enterprise], it is relatively not too bad. It is worse when commerce is in the hands of a one-produce market as, for example, in Blono. We organized a meeting with the Federation of Consumers and the Commerce Division of the Capital Office during which the representatives of commercial authorities recognized the merits of the complaints of the residents and promised to quickly eliminate the disproportion in supplies.

Among the more serious problems which we have tackled was the new rate schedule for above-normal use of gas, very unprofitable for owners of single-family homes who heat their houses with it. The decision to change rates was discussed with the community. After the discussion at the presidium of the commission we approached the Minister of Energy with the demand to lower the rate with a differential according to the ability to pay. We are awaiting a reply.

After the last raise in prices for tickets by the MZK the residents of Warsaw suburban localities turned to us stating they felt mistreated since the monthly ticket prices for commuting to work within Warsaw were raised substantially less than regional rates. We brought this to the attention of the president. The reaction was swift. As a result changes were made in the price of monthly tickets for persons commuting to work from out in the province.

Recently a matter came to our attention of the lack of interest by students in academic mess halls. The students claimed that the meals are too expensive and their quality is not commensurate to the high prices. We are now looking into this problem. Soon we will have to arrange a meeting among Spolem, which runs the mess hall, the self-government unit of the students, and the school authorities, to mutually decide how to raise the quality of the meals and simultaneously to lower their price.

Another sphere of problems is youth affairs. I think we must consider these somewhat differently. Of course we must teach and train our youth, but we cannot do this in an officious manner through a system of orders and prohibitions. We must fight the material approach of youth to life. We must, however, simultaneously also give them the opportunity of realistic vocational progress. Although much is said about this in plants, not much is done. The commission will devote much attention to these matters.

[Question] The Warsaw conference of PRON will take place on 9 April. What matters will the commission bring up there?

[Answer] We plan to expand our concern toward the problem of increasing manifestations of social pathology: alcoholism, drug abuse, increased break-ins and burglaries, and robberies. We must decide on a complex, long-range program of activities directed at these destructive social phenomena. We want the local units of PRON to take an interest in these matters. We know the struggle against these manifestations will not be easy, but neither can we do nothing about them.

Thank you very much for the interview and we wish you success.

12387

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'SOCIALIST REALISM' IN ART, LITERATURE CONDEMNED

Bucharest AMFITEATRU in Romanian Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Mihai Milca, "At the Regenerative Springs of Art"]

[Text] From time to time, the fundamental relationship between art and society is discussed in Marxist theory. Inevitably, the need to consider the balance between the cultural and political spheres comes up as a corollary. However, recognition of cultural phenomena's class character has led, more or less explicitly, to a solely political overall judgment of them.

More than a few of the disciples and commentators of classic Marxist texts have jumped to absolutist and unilateral conclusions, despite the fact that for Marx and Engels, a social system is composed of three levels (specific stages or domains—economic, political and ideological) that come together and structure themselves, establishing the (economic) infrastructure and the (political-ideological) superstructure of a society. Because of the relationships between antagonistic social classes, these take the form of political, economic and ideological struggle. The profusion of the dialectical determinants and junctures between the levels were, however, often missed in theoretical thought. Their equivalent was not found in a unitary composite of the social and cultural totality, in a nuanced and coherent representation of the relationship between society's art and the society as such, or of the relationship between cultural and artistic phenomena and their social environment. Thus, a focus was established, even a reductionist and simplistic framework according to which culture and art constitute nothing more than the reflection in the spiritual, symbolic and such orders of the direct economic and political interests of a social class. Class struggle was transposed in its entirety, without any modifications, from politics and the political-ideological sphere, not only to the realm of cultural and artistic ideologies, but also to value judgments. The complex and contradictory problem of creating cultural values and, moreover, of propagating them from one generation to the next thus became subject to an "ideological revaluation" through the prism of the Manichaen dichotomy between "peoples" and "elitist" culture, between "pure" art and that "with tendencies."

The cheapening and twisting of classic Marxism's aesthetic ideals' true meanings, their deformation through certain abusive practices in cultural

policies and in socialist society's conditions have had some of the most ill-fated and alienating effects on cultural and artistic consciousness; effects which have put their stamp of melancholy on the entire period of Stalinist dogmatism. Pertinent theoretical analysis, debate, and argument of differing points of view were replaced by belief, proclaimed and advertised in an imperial fashion, in dogma's infallibility, in dictate and intolerance and in the rigidity and ritual of adherence to all that issues from that political and ideological point in time. Overnight, a certain ideological attitude in culture became the questionable support of certain taboos and fetishes, raised to the rank of "representative" precepts or works, "typical" of new societies and concepts about the world and life. Inflexible, authoritarian spirit, exclusivity, suspicion and not infrequently repressive hostility usurped the place of the true revolutionary generous and humanist spirit aimed at facilitating the building of a new culture superior to all forms of culture and civilization that have characterized previous societies, societies that were based on exploitation and on extinguishing the creative forces of human genius.

It is not then surprising that not long ago standardized cultural inferior works of "socialist realism" could shamelessly proliferate, papier mache constructions, the most tedious banalities and clichés, outbidding one another to overflow in festive and triumphal propaganda.

Almost two decades ago, our Ninth Party Congress brought a reinvigorating and innovative spirit to Romanian socio-cultural life, eliminating the parasitical conditions, one after another, that had favored such a state of affairs. Certain errors were corrected. Eliminated were the mentalities and prejudices of the period ruled by dogmatism, pseudo-vigilant policy and prolet-cultist fervor. Socialist culture was handed back its dignity, unblocking all its communicative channels with the regenerative spring of true art and advanced historical and cultural traditions, without which all cultural and artistic phenomena are superficial, bogus and invalid. The stagnating and ideologizing of certain models and values considered perfect and untouchable were abandoned, set aside to allow for the reintroduction of any authentic art theme, reality as it is, true life, real people who are continuously transformed through revolutionary practice. I should point out here that this reorientation of the balance between the political factor and the cultural and artistic sphere first of all meant a triumph over abstract, normative and indeed rigidly normative perspectives which identify creativity and works of art with vulgarization, with propaganda in its pejorative sense, and with a kind of insipid and sterile "iluminism" and didacticism. The forever lively, creative spirit of Marxism cannot be divorced from a truly revolutionary and humanist attitude of promoting socialist culture's values, an attitude open to the broad participation of workers in cultural and artistic creations. Speaking of the "educative" and humanizing dimension of literature and art in a given society, Gramsci pointed out, in one of his notes during his incarceration, that politics and culture do not have to confront one another in tension and incongruence, in exterior and mechanical relations: "As the political man applies pressure so that art of his time expresses a certain cultural world, this constitutes a political and not artistically critical activity. If the cultural world for which he is

struggling is a vital and necessary fact, its expansion will be irresistible and this world will find its own artists. But, if despite the pressure, this irresistible character does not appear, if it is inoperative, this means that it was a fictitious and unreal world, a fallacy on the paper of a mediocre individual who complains that men of higher stature are not in step with him. The formal principle of spiritual categories and of their uniform circulation, despite its abstract character, allows recognition of effectual reality and criticism of the arbitrary nature and "pseudo-life" of those who do not want to play with the cards in front of them or who are purely and simply mediocre, placed by chance into positions of authority.

A continuously revolutionary ideological attitude that is rooted in the Marxist concept of society is not a foreign element to the process of culture, is not a "form" or "label" attached to creativity, its output, to works of art. The ideological attitude in this case constitutes a "vector" which orients and provides a precisely determined sense of the work of art's content, proving, at the same time, to be in harmony with the needs of "socializing" the truth, and through this, it becomes the guide and ferment for the transformation of the spiritual universe of every person, and of the social collective as a whole. Such an ideological attitude has nothing to do with the bureaucratic spirit, the ideological "mandarinism," with confiscatory and monopolistic manifestations of the truth, or of the understanding of the deep and ultimate thought processes through which a culture becomes a collective fact of life, a domain of conscious activity and free creativity.

Assuring the socialist content of a society's entire cultural life for which free construction and creativity are fundamental and definitive characteristics can only come about as a collective effort, though a collective assumption of socialism's own universal, spiritual and moral values and norms. It is a gigantic effort, carried out under the conscious activity of the political factor which does not in any way replace the cultural determinants and factors properly speaking, or the participation of men themselves in a culture which no longer is the domain of a privileged minority or spiritual "elite." The communist undertaking visualized in classic Marxism is, of course, based on a radical transformation of man, of the human personality, of creative subjectivity. But this transformation is not envisioned without a concomitant transformation of man's material framework and environment.

And, society's transformation through revolutionary activity is first of all an action or system of actions in which the political factor holds the predominant position, and whose initiative proves decisive from a social standpoint. In socialism, the political dimension of a human personality is the forceline for social activism and, implicitly, cultural and artistic activism. The artist is the conscious creator of the social, socializing and political functions of his work's message. The political dimension is, in such circumstances, the artistic work's own active and activating dimension, having become a collective good, a moving factor on the social scene. In a socialist society, politics no longer expresses a balance of forces between different social classes and groups which at one time had contested for political power and, implicitly, for the means and instruments of society's ideological

and cultural domination. The communist party spirit and socialist patriotism represent moral-political unity's true pillars which assure the originality and organic structure of the cultural and artistic manifestations of socialist society's members; they must necessarily be active in all the new cultural productions of free socialist creativity.

As the party's secretary general rightly pointed out: "Literary-artistic creativity in our country must be original, patriotic and humanist. Only in this way will it correspond to the people's demands and always contribute to universal culture and art's enrichment. Not imitation, or uniformity, but the diversity, the return to the individual characteristics of every people will mean true artistic and literary creativity. The diversity of artistic styles and mannerisms must never be confused with tolerance for ideas and mentalities foreign to our socialist society's ideals." There is in these words a gigantic dialectical charge, a deep understanding of the relationship between art and politics in a socialist society as an expression of complete liberty. The truest sense of creative freedom cannot thus be separated from the sense of human freedom's authenticity since the freedom of conscience and action in a society in which each individual's fulfillment and happiness becomes the condition and certainty for the collective's fulfillment and happiness, and vice-versa.

12280

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INTERNAL MIGRATION DURING 1971-81 EXAMINED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 83 p 5

[Article by Salih Zvizdic: "Where Did 64,622 Citizens of Yugoslavia Disappear To?"]

[Text] All the capitals of the Yugoslav republics and provinces grew more in population between 1971 and 1981, i.e., between the two population censuses, than can be accounted for on the basis of natural population growth. They are attractive, then, to newcomers!

Sociologists and various social analysts are drawing numerous conclusions from that fact.

Many conclusions and predictions of sociological trends can be drawn on a world scale from people's migration (resettlement from continent to continent, from country to country, and in our own context from migration between republics and provinces. The areas into which most people are moving (with net immigration) as a rule are more attractive in some way than those from which more people are moving out (net emigration).

We talked about migrations within our country with Dr Ivo Baucic, professor and scientific counselor in the Migration Research Center in Zagreb, one of four such independent scientific institutions in the world. Professor Baucic has been its director for many years, and was also the founder of this center, which is now celebrating its 15th anniversary.

Where Did 64,622 Inhabitants Disappear to?

On the basis of the statistical data from the population censuses in March 1971 and March 1981 Professor Baucic and his fellow workers prepared an extensive study on what is called "Net Migration of Population in Yugoslavia 1971-1981." This is a study on the movement of our people from one republic or province to another, from city to city, and from region to region. Behind these movements there are always certain causes, causes most often located in the sphere of the economic motivation of immigrants (those moving in) and emigrants (those moving out).

Table Showing an Estimate of Natural Population Growth and the Actual Situation and the Net Result of Immigration and Emigration in the Period Between the Two Population Censuses, 1971-1981

Republics and Autonomous Provinces <u>1</u>	Population as of 31 March			Increase 1971-1981 Estimated	
	1971	1981		Number <u>5</u>	Growth Relative to 1971 Census <u>6</u>
	Census	Estimate	Census		
	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>		
Bosnia-Hercegovina	3,746,111	4,259,418	4,124,256	513,307	13.7
Montenegro	529,604	600,965	584,310	71,361	13.5
Croatia	4,426,211	4,632,731	4,601,469	206,510	4.7
Macedonia	1,647,308	1,908,935	1,909,136	261,627	15.9
Slovenia	1,727,137	1,843,395	1,891,864	116,258	6.7
Serbia proper	5,250,365	5,578,935	5,694,464	328,570	6.3
Kosovo	1,243,693	1,643,412	1,584,440	399,719	32.1
Vojvodina	1,952,533	2,021,542	2,034,772	69,009	3.5
SFRY total	20,522,972	22,489,333	22,424,711	1,966,361	9.6

<u>1</u>	Increase 1971-1981 Actual		Net Result of Migration	
	Number <u>7</u>	Growth Relative to 1971 Census <u>8</u>	Number (more or less) <u>9</u>	Percentage Relative to Estimate for 1981 <u>10</u>
Bosnia-Hercegovina	378,145	10.1	-135,162	-3.2
Montenegro	54,706	10.3	-16,655	-2.8
Croatia	175,248	4.0	-31,262	-0.7
Macedonia	261,828	15.9	201	0.0
Slovenia	164,727	9.5	48,469	2.6
Serbia proper	444,099	8.5	115,529	2.1
Kosovo	340,747	27.4	-58,972	-3.6
Vojvodina	82,239	4.2	13,230	0.7
SFRY total	1,901,739	9.3	-64,622	-0.3

Many laymen are interested in how the statistician can at any moment know the size of the population of towns and of the entire country even before the census. How is that estimate made? It is in essence a simple matter. That is, figures are collected every day on the number of births and deaths in every town, opstina, province and republic, and when the difference in number between births and deaths is added to the population in the previous census, one gets the expected (estimated) size of the population for each unit. This is what is referred to as natural population growth.

Migration of Population Among the Capitals of the Republics and Provinces

Capital 1	Population as of 31 March			Increase 1971-1981 Estimated	
	1971	1981		Number	Growth Relative to 1971 Census
	Census	Estimate	Census		
	2	3	4		
Sarajevo	359,452	401,418	448,519	41,966	11.7
Titograd	98,796	116,840	132,290	18,044	18.3
Zagreb	733,766	787,489	855,568	53,723	7.3
Skoplje	388,962	463,504	504,932	74,542	19.2
Ljubljana	257,800	284,180	305,211	26,380	10.2
Belgrade	1,209,361	1,319,196	1,470,073	109,835	9.1
Pristina	152,744	201,427	210,040	48,683	31.9
Novi Sad	213,861	231,031	257,685	17,170	8.0
Total	3,414,742	3,805,085	4,184,318	390,343	11.4

1	Increase 1971-1981 Actual		Net Result of Migration	
	Growth Relative to 1971		Growth Relative to 1971	
	Number	Census	Number	Census
	7	8	9	10
Sarajevo	89,067	24.3	47,101	11.7
Titograd	33,494	33.9	15,450	13.2
Zagreb	121,801	16.6	68,079	8.6
Skoplje	115,970	29.8	41,428	8.9
Ljubljana	47,411	18.4	21,031	5.5
Belgrade	260,712	21.6	150,877	11.4
Pristina	57,296	37.5	8,613	4.3
Novi Sad	43,824	20.5	26,654	11.5
Total	769,576	22.5	379,233	10.0

When a general population census is taken every 10 years, then it is easy to detect the difference between the estimated and actual population. This difference occurs because of migration (movement) of the population, since people do move from place to place. If there are more inhabitants in one area, there would be less in another, but as a rule the estimated size of the natural population increase is always accurate in the country as a whole.

Let us examine this with the example of our country! As of 31 March 1971, that is, on the day of the census taken at that time, Yugoslavia had a population of 20,522,972. Ten years later, on 31 March 1981, on the basis of the

monitoring of the number of births and deaths there should have been a natural increase of 1,966,361 and a total population of 22,489,333. The census in March 1981 showed that at midnight on that day Yugoslavia had a population of 22,424,711, that is, 64,622 inhabitants fewer than estimated!

Where did the 64,622 inhabitants disappear to? If we exclude the possibility of a small error in the census, then it is most likely that these are people who have moved out of our country permanently. This is actually the difference between the number of persons who have permanently moved into the country over those 10 years and those who have moved permanently out of our country. Our workers employed abroad temporarily are recorded as citizens temporarily absent from the country except in cases of emigration (most of the emigration has been to Australia) or cases when another nationality has been taken.

Number of Opstinas With Net Emigration and Net Immigration in the Period 1971-1981

Republics and Autonomous Provinces	Total Number of Opstinas	Opstinas in Capital	Other Opstinas			
			Total	Immi- gration	Emigration Number	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bosnia-Hercegovina	109	10	99	13	86	86.9
Montenegro	20	1	19	6	13	68.4
Croatia	113	14	99	24	75	75.8
Macedonia	34	5	29	8	21	72.4
Slovenia	65	5	60	34	26	43.3
Serbia proper	114	16	98	29	69	70.4
Kosovo	22	1	21	2	19	90.4
Vojvodina	50	7	43	13	30	69.8
SFRY total	527	59	468	129	339	72.4

Exception in Croatia

It is interesting that in those federal units of Yugoslavia which qualify as "underdeveloped" (Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo) the increase over the 10 years between the censuses was higher than the Yugoslav average both on the basis of natural increase and the actual situation. The largest percentage of natural increase was anticipated in SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo, and the smallest in SAP Vojvodina, which did in fact occur. However, this calculation was spoiled by emigration and immigration, or, more accurately, what is referred to as the net result of migration, which shows numerically the difference between the estimate of the natural population growth for 1981 and the actual situation.

The final results are such that Kosovo, in spite of an enormous natural increase of 32.1 percent (the largest in Yugoslavia), nevertheless had a population loss of 58,972 in March 1981. That shows the size of Kosovo's net result of migration, that is, a difference between those moving out and those moving in. The pattern is the reverse in Vojvodina. In that federal unit the smallest natural increase in the country of only 3.5 percent was anticipated (32.1

percent in Kosovo), and the actual situation showed that there were 13,230 more inhabitants than anticipated. This is the number of newcomers. The social and economic relations which bring about such a situation are well known.

Croatia provides a singular example; over the 10-year period it had the smallest population growth in the country. On the basis of natural increase in the period between censuses it should have had an increase of 206,510 inhabitants (4.7 percent of the population in 1971), but it actually had an increase of 175,238 inhabitants (4.0 percent), because 31,262 inhabitants represented the so-called negative net result of migration, that is, the number of inhabitants moving to other republics, provinces or abroad [sic]. Croatia is the only federal unit in the country qualifying as "advanced" which had a negative net result of the mechanical movement of population.

More Children in the Underdeveloped Areas

Serbia proper has the highest positive net result of migration in the country, since 115,529 more inhabitants moved in than moved out. Bosnia-Herzegovina had the opposite situation with a net outflow of 135,162 inhabitants.

There are four basic conclusions that can be drawn from the data on migrations in our country which Professor Baucic has worked up:

- 1) the economically less developed federal units in our country have a considerably higher natural increase than the advanced areas;
- 2) the underdeveloped in three cases (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Kosovo) have more emigrants than immigrants. In Macedonia, which is also in this group, there were 201 more immigrants than emigrants, which only proves that the high natural increase in that republic was larger than emigration;
- 3) in three advanced federal units (Slovenia, Serbia proper and Vojvodina) the natural population increase represented a small percentage, but the percentage of immigration was sizable;
- 4) in Croatia, where the percentage of natural population increase was small, there was also a certain percentage of emigration, which gives that republic an exceptional status among all the republics and provinces.

All the capitals of the republics and provinces have a larger population than anticipated on the basis of the natural increase, which means that more people moved into those cities than moved out. The percentage of population growth in those cities was larger than in their respective federal units as a whole, and a certain minor deviation from that rule in Pristina and Sarajevo only confirms that the socioeconomic conditions in those cities are having a greater impact toward planning families with fewer children than in other parts of the province or republic.

Largest Emigration From Lika

More than a fourth of the total population of SR [Socialist Republic] Macedonia lives in Skoplje. The same is true of Belgrade, which has more than a fourth of the population of Serbia proper, although in this case we should also take into account Belgrade's function as the national capital. Nearly a fourth of the population (22 percent) of Montenegro lives in Titograd. All of this only shows the attractiveness of the larger centers in which industrial, commercial, cultural and medical activity of the federal unit is concentrated, which is out of line with the program of uniform development of all regions in the country.

Throughout the country the number of so-called "emigration" opstinas prevails, i.e., those in which the number of inhabitants in 1981 was smaller than anticipated on the basis of the natural increase. These are opstinas which had more emigration than immigration.

Of the 527 opstinas in Yugoslavia 351, or 66.6 percent, had a negative net result of migration. The opstinas which had net emigration in Montenegro included Pluzine Opstina (-35.4 percent), and in Serbia proper Crna Trava Opstina (-35.2). In Croatia the record is held by Lastovo Opstina (-22.5), Drnis (-22.5) and Gracac (-19.3). Among all regions in Yugoslavia Lika is most markedly characterized by emigration (with the largest net emigration), along with the Gospic Community of Opstinas (-15.4 percent).

Opstinas With Elderly People

Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia stand out particularly for their large proportion of opstinas with a negative net result of migration, while Slovenia has more opstinas with net immigration than net emigration, which is obvious proof of more uniform spatial distribution and better use of human and other natural resources in that republic than elsewhere.

Opstinas within the capitals have been especially attractive to immigrants. For example, New Belgrade Opstina has the largest inflow of population in the country (68,186, or 64.7 percent more than in 1971). In Zagreb New Zagreb Opstina grew in that period by 39,751, or 54.2 percent over 1971. We note that certain opstinas in cities have a predominantly elderly population (more deaths than births), which is also creating a negative net result of migration [sic]. For instance, among the opstinas in Zagreb Medvescak Opstina stands out; it has a negative net result of migration of 11.5 percent, followed by Pescenica (-6.7) and Trnje (-5.5). In Belgrade these opstinas are Savski Venac (-19.3), STari Grad (-13.2) and Vracar (-7.6), and in Ljubljana Center Opstina (-23.0 percent).

Regions Which Are Empty and Crammed

This entire study of the net migration of the Yugoslav population over the period 1971-1981 shows that there are large irregularities in the demographic development of our country. Large areas in the country are losing population more and more, while other relatively small areas are becoming more and more

crowded, which in the latter case is creating a number of difficulties with respect to housing, employment, municipal services and utilities, and so on.

More extensive scientific studies in this respect would offer very useful results not only for the benefit of population policy, but above all for the sake of more successful regional and general development of society.

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